

# California Historical Quarterly

winter 1976/77



# California Historical Society

Founded in 1871, the California Historical Society works to preserve the historical source materials on which cultural understanding is built; to serve as a clearing house for scholarship which may influence the paths of knowledge; and, by presenting to the public historical publications, programs, and services, to enable people to examine, evaluate, and question the intellectual, social, political, economic, and aesthetic traditions that shape their lives in California today. All are invited to join.

Published continuously since 1922, the *California Historical Quarterly* is the Society's ongoing vehicle of inquiry and the only magazine exclusively devoted to California history from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, book reviews, and pictorial essays explore the state's social, economic, political, ethnic, and aesthetic heritage, encouraging examination of the interplay between the past and present.

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## COVER

Mack buses belonging to Borderland Transportation Company regularly negotiated this narrow plank road over desert terrain on an arduous run from San Diego to Phoenix and El Paso. In 1925 drivers of the motorized caravan paused for a company photographer near Holtville on the first leg of their 750-mile run. A photographic essay on the development of intercity bus transportation in California during the innovative post-World War I era begins on page 306.

Annual subscription and membership \$20.00  
Student subscription and membership \$10.00

Single issues \$3.60  
Back issues and microfilm and xerograph  
facsimile copies available.

Articles for publication, books for review, and editorial correspondence should be sent to the Editor, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco 94109. Articles and notes should be typed on separate sheets, double-spaced, and submitted in triplicate with a large stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for contributors' statements or opinions.

©1976 by  
California Historical Society  
2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco 94109

ISBN 0008-1175

Second-class postage paid at  
San Francisco, California

# California Historical Quarterly

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PUBLISHED SINCE 1922

VOLUME LV WINTER 1976 NO. 4

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Great Expectations: The Business Correspondence of  
"Gibbons & Lamot," Gold Rush Black Powder Merchants 290  
*by* JAMES W. WHITE

California By Motor Stage 306  
*by* ELI BAIL

A New Look at the Founding of Old Los Angeles 326  
*by* HARRY KELSEY

Kahn of California 340  
*by* BURTON ALAN BOXERMAN

Manhole Covers: Artifacts in the Streets 352  
*by* MIMI AND ROBERT MELNICK

## REVIEWS

Serving West Coast Collectors: The Book Club of California 364

Book Reviews 367

In Memoriam 376

California Check List 379

Volume Contents 385

Index 389

*the business  
correspondence of  
Gibbons & Lammot,  
gold rush  
black powder  
merchants*

# *Great*

The business letters of Robert Lammot and his associate Rodmond Gibbons span the years from 1852 to 1854 and describe in rich and sometimes painful detail the fortunes of two businessmen who traveled West intent on securing some of the fast money to be made in the California gold rush. In purpose the two men's letters were reports to an eastern supplier on the status of their goods and finances and appraisals of future prospects. But for latter-day readers they recreate with humor, optimism, and, finally, resignation the anticipations and disappointments that characterized business life in the boom and bust economy of the remote new market.

"Gibbons and Lammot," the name chosen for the men's partnership, was organized as a commission merchant business in San Francisco soon after the sleepy outpost found itself thrust into a new economic role. Suddenly the city had become an important trading center serving a market of hungry, ill-equipped miners eager to buy, at almost any price, the means to strike it rich in the gold fields of the Sierra Nevada.

For those who could supply the needed products, mid-nineteenth century San Francisco offered excellent

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The author wishes to express his gratitude to his colleagues at the Library for their advice and encouragement and to Mr. Eugene Ferguson, professor of history at the University of Delaware.



# Expectations

opportunities for profits in the commission mercantile business. However, the profits were in reality accessible only to those few who had reliable East Coast suppliers and good luck with unpredictable shipping companies. Also important to business survival was the ability to weather frequent financial panics, cut-throat competition, and unscrupulous city officials, all of which characterized San Francisco business life during the gold-rush years.

The Gibbons and Lammot agency began business in February, 1852, at No. 4 Battery Street. While neither of the men kept diaries, it seems evident from Robert Lammot's early letters that the partnership was made up of a promising combination of talents.

Rodmond Gibbons, the elder partner, was a seasoned businessman who had been employed with the Philadelphia commission agency of Thomas & Martin before moving to the West Coast sometime in 1850 or 1851. After his relocation, Gibbons made a name for himself in San Francisco business and real estate and, later, as a pamphleteer on California financial affairs.

Robert Lammot, on the other hand, possessed little business background when he came to California in 1850. He compensated for his professional inexperience, however, with potentially valuable East Coast connections.

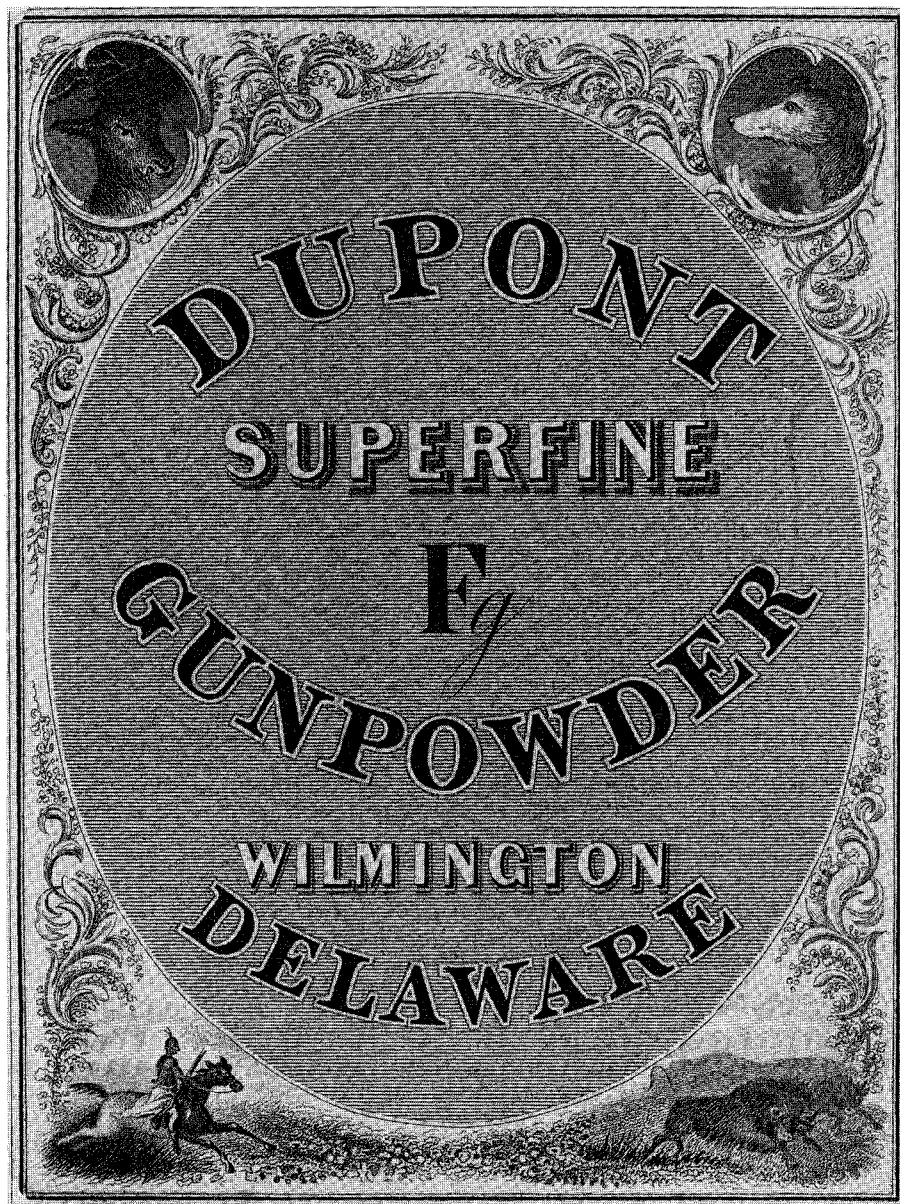
It was upon Robert's step-sister Margaretta and her marriage to Alfred Victor Du Pont, president of the well-known Du Pont Powder Mills of Wilmington, Delaware, that the fledgling San Francisco business

pinned much of its hope for success. Robert had become a close friend with Alfred Du Pont following Margaretta's marriage, and when the suggestion of a trip to San Francisco came about, Alfred offered supportive, fatherly advice and guarded promises of assistance.

Alfred encouraged Robert's journey out of good business sense as well as friendship. During the mid-nineteenth century, the Du Pont Company was gradually recovering from a nation-wide economic slump, which for Du Pont extended through the duration of the 1846 Mexican War.

The war itself proved to be unprofitable for the company in spite of what would seem to be an advantageous event for a gunpowder manufacturer. Federal orders for powder were ultimately too small to balance the costs of mobilizing production, and, in addition, the urgency of Army powder orders forced the company to take dangerous chances in order to meet production deadlines. The period ended catastrophically for Du Pont when a careless, hastily trained employee touched off an explosion which left eighteen dead.

It was in the aftermath of these disappointments that the news of a gold rush in California reached Delaware, and, as everywhere, the news was well received at the powder mills along the Brandywine. For Du Pont, the potential market for powder in quartz-mining operations in the West appeared to herald a new opportunity for growth and expansion. Under the leadership of Henry Du Pont, who took control of the company at his brother Alfred's retirement in 1850, vigorous sales and



*Du Pont Company's Superfine Fg Gunpowder label, a familiar item to West Coast users in the late 1850's*

promotional operations were begun by representatives throughout the country, and California was not to be neglected.

As the company began to look in earnest toward western markets, Alfred saw Robert's trip as timely indeed. A reliable reporter in the San Francisco business community would be an asset in gaining knowledge of the town and its politics and in identifying trustworthy businessmen who could ably represent the company and its products.

Robert's performance as a neutral correspondent for the company was, however, short-lived. Realizing that he sat on one of Du Pont's most promising areas of sales development, Robert, and his new business partner, Gibbons, soon began to write letters of a different tone to Delaware. Objective assessments and answers to Du Pont queries gave way to almost strident pleas to Du Pont to consider their own fledgling firm as a candidate for the Du Pont commission. The two men unhesitatingly began discrediting competing applicants



and shored up their own rather limited credentials with promises of hard work, honest bookkeeping, and faithful shepherding of Du Pont interests. Their objective, as emerges in their correspondence, was to get into what appeared to be the beginning of a bonanza in the black powder business unmatched anywhere west of the Mississippi.

The persistence of the partners' pleas and the boldness of their arguments must have impressed Henry Du Pont, for the two men successfully secured the company account. Their celebrations, however, lasted only briefly, for no sooner had the firm established itself than it began long months of grappling with city officials for a permit to build a powder magazine, with shipping companies which gave unpredictable service and damaged freight, and with poor customer sales and collections.

After a beginning of high hopes and enthusiasm and two years tempered with disappointments, the Gibbons and Lammot partnership was dissolved in 1856. Gibbons remained in San Francisco where he relocated to 65 California Street. There he managed to salvage a business out of the Du Pont account and real estate interests. Lammot despaired of commission merchandising and returned to the East. After a brief stay on his half-brother's farm ("where I shall try for a year if the occupation of a farmer cannot be made to pay better than the commission business—worse it cannot"), he joined the Army, fought in the Civil War with the rank of captain, and followed a military career thereafter in the Western Territories until his death at Fort Supply, Indian Territory, in 1888.

From a reading of the letters written to the Du Pont firm during the partnership, it is apparent that both men enjoyed chronicling the peaks and even the all too frequent troughs of the firm's endeavors. In many instances the formal purpose of the correspondence, which was to give an accounting of Du Pont powder sales, seems almost incidental to the lengthy narrations

on all sorts of subjects. As a result, Gibbons and Lammot's sober assessments of San Francisco business life, recounted with a delightful deadpan style, reveal a unique perspective of the city in the 1850's—San Francisco through the eyes of the marginally successful businessman.

The edited letters in this article represent a mere handful from the complete correspondence of Gibbons and Lammot with E. I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co., Inc. (Gibbons remained a powder commission merchant for Du Pont and wrote frequently, even feverishly, until 1873.) The entire correspondence is deposited with the Du Pont collection at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware.

*Alfred Du Pont to Robert Lammot  
Wilmington, Delaware—July [June] 20, 1849*

Margaretta parted for Boston this morning—and I was so busy I could not pump out of her anything about your taking a trip to San Francisco.

I am much obliged by your returning the *Alta California* of the 15th March, it being wanted here to refer to at further dates, viz, to compare from time to time the changes that will take place in the leading firms of that Golden Country.

Should you conclude to take a trip, it should be done with the consent of your parents; I hope you would not undertake such a journey contrary to their wishes—If you go it will give me much pleasure to give you all the assistance I can.

A person writing well and able to keep books will always make a living there, but my favorite employment if I had to go there would be that of a Shoe Black—viz, that of doing any thing and every thing my employer require that was not dishonest; in a new country a man must be ready to jump at every thing that could be done with honour.

*Robert Lammot to Alfred Du Pont*  
*Pennsgrove, Pennsylvania—June 28, 1849*

... Sister Margaretta urged me strongly to follow the example of those who have gone to California and made fortunes in so short a space of time. I told her that I wished to do so but that I had not the means of going—She then offered to pay my passage there provided Father's consent could be obtained, which I have done—Indeed you may be assured Sir, I would never take so important a step without first obtaining the advice and consent of my parents.

It is my wish now to get from some of the Phila[del-phia] merchants consignments of flour, provisions or any thing else they may be disposed to send to San Francisco—in order to give me a start in business when I arrive there—I have seen Mr. Hooper<sup>1</sup> about it and he is to give me an answer in a few days and I intend seeing some others in Phila. to see if I cannot induce them to risk a shipment by me; if I cannot get any consignments I will be ready to take advantage of any offer of employment that may be made to me from "Shoe-blackening" to keeping books—provided I can make something more than my expenses at it. Should I take any goods out with me I suppose the best route would be round the Horn; but if I go light, by Chagres.<sup>2</sup>

As for the clothing etc. necessary for that country I must confess myself profoundly ignorant of what kind would be necessary, but that I can find out from some of those who have returned from there.

Allow me Sir to express to you my gratitude for the kindness you have shown me, both at this time and heretofore in giving me advice and letters as well as your offers of assistance. . . .

*Robert Lammot to E. I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co.<sup>3</sup>*  
*San Francisco, April 11, 1850*

Your favor of Feb. 24th was received today, and in answer to your enquiries respecting the persons you

mention I would say that as regards Mr. Truitt,<sup>4</sup> he is doing apparently a large business in the grocery line in this city under the firm of H.B. & M.B. [F.] Truitt and if I had any power to make collections for you, I think I would be able to get from him anything he may owe you—Still it would be hard to say who will be good & who insolvent here, in the course of three months—If you wish me to try and collect anything from him, I will do so with pleasure as soon as you send a power of attorney and copy of account, both certified before a commissioner for California or justice of the peace.

Of Mr. McLean<sup>5</sup> I can give you but little information. He has given up the care of the [powder] Magazine and has been appointed (I am told) Quartermaster of the State, which is all that I have been able to learn about him.

As to Messrs Winston and Simmons<sup>6</sup> I can say less—indeed I believe the partnership has been dissolved; the Senior partner (Mr. W.) having gone home. Mr. Simmons was Comptroller of this City, and gave considerable dissatisfaction, whether deserved or not I cannot say—Still he does not appear to me to be a man of much business talent though I *do* know (from experience) that he fully understands how to make up a long bill of charges. I do not think him to be the proper person to act as your agent here, though it would be difficult to recommend any one to replace him. In one of my letters home I mentioned that Mr. James Stevenson<sup>7</sup> had told me that he had written you asking for a consignment—Mr. Stevenson is a very good man, honest and a good merchant, but he is considerably embarrassed in his money matters and I am afraid will not be able to remit to his consigners as he should; moreover, he is not altogether as prudent as a man should be here and has trusted too much.

For the past year there has been very little demand for powder in proportion to the supply. Whole shiploads were sent from Boston & other Atlantic ports which were forced off at auction, bringing from 10 to 20¢ pr. lb. Just now the quartz mining operations are



*It would be hard to say who will be good  
& who insolvent here in the course  
of three months.*

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consuming considerable quantities of blasting powder which is scarce at 75¢. The City ordinance prohibits anyone keeping any quantity within the limits of the town, and the charges for storage at the [City Powder] Magazine<sup>8</sup> are enormous; should you conclude to establish a regular agency here, it would be advisable to purchase a small piece of ground and put up a fire proof building of your own which could be done now almost as cheap as at home. Near the Presidio where the U. S. troops are stationed, there are several situations every-way suitable for the purpose.

The stock of powder in Market now is rather low—the abundance of game which is to be found everywhere aids considerably in its consumption. I can safely say that it is the greatest game market in the world. Deer, elk, antelope, bear, rabbits, hare, as well as geese, brant, ducks, curlew, snipe, grouse and partridges are in the greatest profusion and the man who can't eat them every day, must be "flat broke" indeed.

The mining operations will consume large quantities of blasting powder during the coming year, and I think that the Eastern shipments will be made in future with more caution.

Any information I can give you at any time, I will be happy to impart, and if you can make use of my services in any way, I hope you will do so.

... Give my best regards to all my Brandywine friends, though if questioned about my *pile* you can describe it as being of rather a concave one, better known by the algrebraic term — as yet.

*Robert Lammot to Du Pont & Co.*

*San Francisco, February 27, 1852*

A permit has been granted to E. H. Parker, agent for the Hazard Co.<sup>9</sup> to erect a Magazine in the outskirts of this City and he has accordingly put one up. I called on Messrs Beck & Palmer<sup>10</sup> to consult with them about obtaining a permit for you, but they were disinclined to do anything in the matter, as they said that powder was dull and they did not wish to advance the necessary funds to put up the magazine (say from \$200 to \$400 according to the size of the building and lot). As I was a member of the Council at the time I could have had an ordinance passed allowing you the permission but now owing to Loco Foco<sup>11</sup> cunning and the judicious administration of \$3,000. to two of the Judges of the Supreme Court here, the entire Whig City officers were ousted and a set of Locos put in their places. So just now it would be impossible to get anything through. A bill has been introduced by an influential Democrat in the Legislature to change the time of election. So there is every probability that by the end of April or May the Whigs will be re-installed & I can get anything I want in the way of permits.

Of course I cannot say what amount of Powder Messrs B[eck] & P[almer] sell, but if they do not double the sales of the other [concessions] I should say it was their own fault, for your brand is universally approved.

I saw a few days ago a label struck off for some concern here in imitation of your FFFg<sup>12</sup> & intend to ferret out all the particulars which I will communicate as soon as ascertained. . . .

There are some twelve thousand kegs of powder in market just now, principally sporting, & as the hunting season is approaching its close, the sales are somewhat limited. Blasting powder is improving and as the snow disappears from the mountains a great deal will be consumed in quartz mining which is expected to be carried on to a great extent this year. I think it would be a great saving of expense to you to have your own magazine,

In 1852 Gibbons & Lammot ran this newspaper notice to warn against purchase of inferior gunpowder sold under counterfeit DuPont Company label.

Copy  
Caution  
As certain parties in this City are repacking inferior Gun powder in round Cannisters with cork stoppers and counterfeit labels bearing our name, the public are hereby cautioned against the fraud.  
All of our Cannisters have leather necks and stoppers with tape ties — the stoppers stamped with an Eagle on the "Eagle Powder" and "E. I. du Pont & Co." on the "H. G. H. G. H. G." Cannister Powder — Any otherwise put up cannot be relied on as genuine —  
E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.  
for Gibbons & Lammot  
San Francisco May 1852  
The above may differ in one or two words but not in meaning

on account of the high rates of storage in that belonging to the City, as well as the difficulty of access, and then parties storing there are never sure of having their own powder returned to them as I have known in a dozen instances, that merchants had to take other than that they deposited.

... I have lately formed a business connection with Mr. Rodmond Gibbons for the transaction of a general commission and merchandise brokerage business—with a reasonable prospect of success. Mr. Gibbons is extensively and favorably known in this City as well as in Sacramento & Stockton and we hope to be able to drive a brisk trade with both of those places.

Should you be able to give us some consignments of your powder, we are confident that we could give you satisfaction as to the amount sold and prices obtained,

for we do not intend to let any other concern out work us.

In case you send us a lot, I would recommend that no labels but the old fashioned ones be used, for the hunters are familiar with it & do not like any innovations—I would also like to have some of your sample cards to hang up in the principal hotels of the towns. I have frequently seen Hazard's but never any of yours.

Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, April 30, 1852

You will not feel flattered perhaps, that my first letter to you is one for selfish ends, but as you did not expect much of me you will not be greatly disappointed.

You are doubtless aware that Rob. Lammot & myself have engaged in the Commission business, and you will

not be surprised to learn that we are desirous of getting the Agency for the sale of your Powder in this market. . . .

If you deem it to your interest to have a properly conducted agency in San Francisco, I can say with confidence that our intimate intercourse with the trade would enable us to sell as much of your powder as could be sold by any other house in this city, and at the best prices obtainable.

In such case as I have suggested, it would be advisable to build a Magazine, both as a means of safety and for economy in storage.

It would also be well for us to possess a power of Att'y through which we could prosecute parties counterfeiting your labels & as this business is being carried on to the detriment of your reputation.

For the furtherance of your interest, we will undertake to have more stringent laws passed touching counterfeit labels—that is, if you desire it.

I believe that Robt. has written to your firm, with reference to all that I have mentioned, and in regard to the quality of packages of powder most in demand here. . . .

*Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.  
Wilmington, Delaware, July 3, 1852*

Not finding the advertisement referred to yesterday in my conversation with your Mr. Henry Du Pont, I enclose you a written copy of the same. It was inserted by Mr. Lammot in two of the San Francisco daily papers, in pursuance to the suggestions made in one of your letters to him, and with very salutary effect.

. . . I must confess my surprise at the announcement, that you were in treaty with another house for your business Agency in California—but as the negotiation is still *pending*, I beg to renew the application of my house for the business, and will frankly state to you how any other arrangement would affect us.

For some time past Mr. Lammot has been exerting

himself to protect your interests in California, by exposing the fraud of the counterfeit labels so far as practicable by personal interviews with our merchants, and was obliged to give as a *reason*, that he was related to members of your firm. Since our association in business and the receipt of your letters containing orders upon your former Agents for the “Balance of Stock on hand”—advances of shipments, and the suggestions already alluded to, he has been firmly impressed with the idea, that you meant to transfer your “Agency” to us, and that your letters implied this. Hence the advertisement appeared and he felt no hesitation in stating that we would receive your future shipments.

Thus, you perceive that he has not only been identified in a measure with your business in California, but by the misapprehension of your letters, our house has been placed in the same position before the public which is inexpressably mortifying to me.

As a young house your Agency would be very valuable to us, and would assist us in getting other business, while to lose it at this juncture would be deeply injurious to our prospects—Both our pride and interest would induce us to devote more undivided attention to your business than you would be likely to secure among strangers, while our terms would be as moderate as those of any other house.

We can give you every satisfaction relative to the standing and probable stability of our firm, and trust that you will feel no delicacy in making every enquiry.

*Robert Lammot to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, October 30, 1852*

. . . Our Mr. Gibbons returned on the 20th<sup>13</sup>—the powder had been previously stored in the State Magazine at the following rates—12½¢ per Keg or ½¢ per lb. per month storage with the same each way for cartage, being only one half the charge allowed by law.

We have consulted together with regard to the



magazine and have concluded to postpone building it for the present for the following reasons.

The question as to the City's title to the lot we had selected as the most eligible is now before the Supreme Court, and there is very little doubt that her right will be fully confirmed. . . .

It is situated on the Southern boundary of the City . . . and is the only one that is near enough the level of the water to be built on without a great deal of grading, as the bank from Mission Point to Rincon Point rises abruptly (with this exception) from the beach to the height of almost thirty feet. It possesses the advantage of an easy access by either land or water and is remote from other buildings.

Bricks, lime and other building materials have risen nearly, if not quite 100%, rendering it impossible to build at anything like the cost mentioned in our first estimate. Builders assure us that they can put up the magazine in three weeks and advise us defer building at least a month when it is probable materials will have fallen considerably.

The present City Council will vacate their seats in the course of a week and as the writer is personally acquainted with nearly every member of the new Board we can probably obtain a much more favorable permit than the present one would grant.

With regard to stone foundations, they would cost more than brick and possess no advantage as we have no frosts that could affect the walls.

*Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, December 31, 1852*

Since our last, we have had a succession of heavy rains, causing a general languor in business, but there is every promise of a heavy trade as soon as the weather becomes settled. We look for the arrival of the *Java* in a few weeks and shall hope to render you a satisfactory account of your invoice pr. this vessel.

*The recent invasion of Lower California and Sonora will no doubt help our sales of powder, and on that account we do not wish our Fillibusters too easy a conquest, nor yet a too early defeat.*

By next mail we will write you something definite of the Magazine. Building materials are still high, but we cannot wait much longer, as we must have the building ready for the *A. M. L[awrence's]* invoice. It will cost you more than it would have done nine months ago, but you must console yourselves with the reflection, that it is but an eddy in the stream of "California luck."

. . . The storms have played roughly with our little coasting crafts, and potatoes have become temporarily scarce. They have advanced nearly one hundred pr. ct. within a fortnight. A friend of ours has 1000 sacks stored at an embarcadero at the head of the Bay, and our Mr. L[ammot] has gone to inform him of the rise and bring the potatoes down to market. The 1000 bags can be sold on the vessel @ say \$8,000—so the storm will have put nearly \$4,000 in our friend's pocket. "An ill wind & etc."

*Robert Lammot to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, January 31, 1853*

. . . The stock of powder in market at present is large though almost entirely of very inferior description and on that account as well as from the impassibility of the roads, there has been but a fraction of the quantity sold that should have been by this time; the roads however are drying and game is becoming more abundant, so we think there will be a brisk demand ere long. Blasting powder will come in play as soon as the Quartz leads can be worked but must remain dull till then.

We have had much more difficulty than we anticipated



both as to getting permission to build and procuring a suitable location. Ever since last July all kinds of real estate has risen in value. The lot we wrote you about might have been had for about \$1500 and is now held at \$4500, and thus far we have not been able to find another place combining the advantages of accessibility by both land and water.

In case we cannot find a good place and build to advantage, we have concluded to purchase a storehouse, which we can use till we *can* build—as there will be but little doubt but we can re-sell the ship without the loss that would be sustained by selecting a place in a hurry and putting up the magazine while materials are so high.

We have some idea of building on Mission Rock if it can be had low, as it is far enough from land to prevent any danger to or from the neighborhood and is always easy of access by boats. . . .

Our winter rains have ceased and we are now enjoying the finest weather imaginable, with hopes of its continuance.

*Gibbons & Lammot to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, February 28, 1853*

. . . Since our last we have had considerable trouble with regard to the permit to build a magazine, and indeed the Board of Aldermen refused the permit, but it was because two of our friends were absent. This evening the Board has another meeting and if those two gentlemen have returned the vote will be reconsidered, & we have the promise of six out of the eight to support it.

In the meantime, however, not to be taken back (in case of the arrival of the *Lawrence*) we have bought a good tight storehouse capable of storing 400 tons for \$1500 . . . and could sell her again tomorrow for \$2000 if we wished. So you may be under no apprehensions on account of want of place to store your powder.

. . . In the meantime you may depend on our using our best efforts for the promotion of your interests.

*Robert Lammot to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, March 15, 1853*

Last night the Board of Aldermen passed the ordinance giving us the permission to build a magazine and next Monday we will have it brought before the assistant Alderman for concurrence. We have met with a good deal of opposition in this matter from parties interested and have had our ordinance rejected once, but by dint of dinning the matter into the ears of our City Fathers every meeting, we have at last pushed it through the upper Board.

The *A. M. Lawrence* arrived here on the 9th with your powder which we put on the storehouse and moored her out in the Bay, out of all danger. We have a trustworthy man on board to take care of matters, & who comes to the store every day for orders.

The writer saw Mr. Lean a few days ago; he is utterly worthless and should we ever get anything out of him you may consider it a great stroke of fortune.

Hoping to send you a large [ccount] sales soon.

*Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, October 15, 1853*

. . . We will do as you direct concerning the lumpy powder,<sup>14</sup> but as the lumps will not yield to shaking, much of it will have to be opened. We have thought it might be an advantage to have a copper cylinder of medium capacity fixed in a light frame, so that it could be turned by hand. With the help of balls within the cylinder it occurred to us that such a contrivance would be very useful in doctoring lumpy powder. If your views coincide with ours, please ship us one—or if anything will answer the purpose better in your opinion, we would be glad to have it—for labor is a considerable item in this country.

. . . With respect to the magazine, we will look up a lot as soon as our Mr. L[ammot] returns.<sup>15</sup> The trouble is, to get an “undoubted title,” in a desirable location.

*[The powder magazine] will cost you more than it would have nine months ago, but you must console yourselves with the reflection that it is but an eddy in the stream of "California luck."*

We fear we shall be obliged to trust to such a title as we can get, and in such an event, if you do not relish the uncertainty we will shoulder it ourselves, and trust to the nine points of the law.

It would be well for you to ship us a "powder waggon" in anticipation. Say after the style of Adam's & Co's express waggons, as far as the *running gear* and *springs* are concerned. The top according to your own judgement and taste. So as it be *not* heavy, have doors aft that can be locked, and *not* bear enough resemblance to a magazine to make persons feel uncomfortable as it passes.

It will not be needed to carry heavy loads, but to go *fast* with one horse or rather, vice versa. Harness for one horse will also be needed.

It does not seem likely that there will be any ordinance to prohibit the transportation of powder thro' the streets, for some years to come: and these things will cost much less in Phil. or N.Y. than here.

Robert Lammot to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, December 13, 1853

We are in rect. of none of your favors unanswered, and have but to announce the arrival of the Ship *Carisca* with your shipment by her, in good order with the exception of a few Kegs damaged by the ship which she has paid for and a few cases stained by *sweat* according to the Port Warden, but which we hope to convince the Agt. of the Underwriters is *salt water* so that we may get an allow-

ance for the damage which is merely confined to the cases as far as we have examined and has not hurt the powder.

The canisters that are packed in straw generally arrive in better order and *less stained* than when packed with paper and we notice that the hoops on most of the last shipment of kegs are loose which we attribute to some greenness in either kegs or hoops.

... The recent invasion of Lower California and Sonora will no doubt help our sales of powder and on that account we do not wish our Fillibusters too easy a conquest, nor yet a too early defeat. As yet they have but few cannon, which defect we hope they will soon remedy—as to bayonets, they do not use them at all, so they must depend on powder for their success.<sup>16</sup>

Real Estate has taken a sudden start within the last few months, and many lots that were out of town have lately been covered with buildings. So that had we put up the magazine in the neighborhood where we designed we should have had a good many efforts made to remove us. For the present it is decidedly better to keep the storeship, but as soon as we can advantageously build we will do so.

Business generally is very dull and prices of all kinds of merchandise rule exceedingly low—we are in hopes, however, that next month will improve matters and if there should be a good hearty war in Europe, it will improve our prices here materially.

Gibbons & Lammot to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, January 16, 1854

... On the 25th Nov. a collision occurred during a blow in our harbor, between our storeship and an English brig (*Rosaline*) in which the *Dryade* rec'd. some damage. We called a survey and recovered \$701.50 from the brig which you will perceive rather more than covers the amount paid for repairs. Our powder boat was also stolen from the wharf while the ship keeper was delivering some powder, and as she could not be recovered, we

*Fenced by the masts of abandoned ships, the San Francisco waterfront boomed in 1851 with the energy of hopeful entrepreneurs like Gibbons & Lammot*

were forced to buy another new one, which could be sold at any moment for \$50 advance on what we paid for her.

Our efforts to obtain a lot for the magazine have thus far been in vain as the City's title has not yet been acted on by the Land Commission and all the lots suitable for our purpose are more or less held by uncertain titles—and are also, by reason of great speculative demand, held high above their real value. We are, however, on the look out and shall do all we can to get one to suit your purpose at the earliest moment possible.

... The writer saw Mr. W[illiam?] F. McLean lately, he *promises* to pay as soon as he sells some potatoes, which he has been raising, but as potatoes are only bringing from 50 to 75c pr bushel, we think the chance of making anything out of him but small.

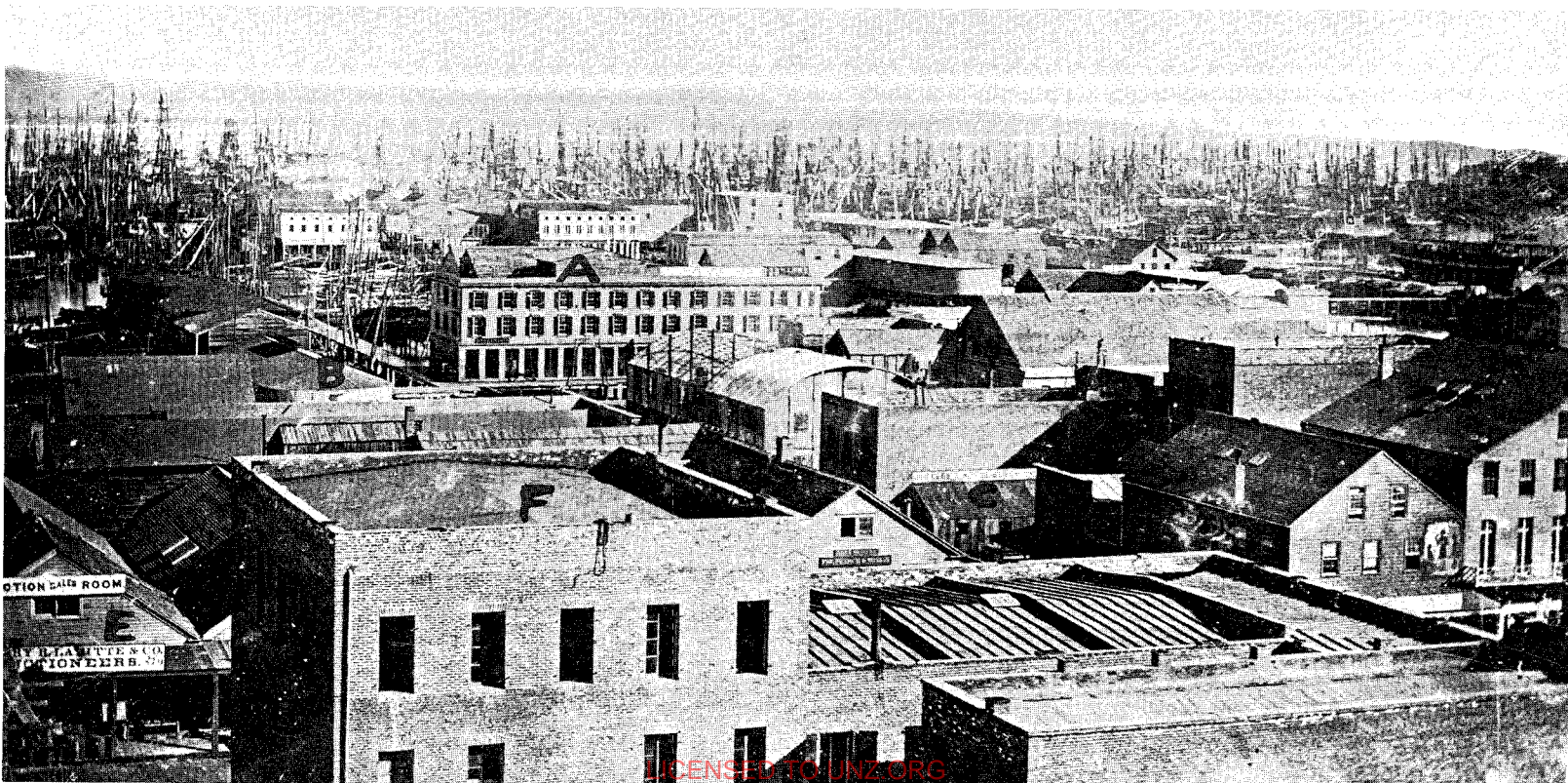
*Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, September 15, 1854*

... As regards the comparative merits of magazine and ship we still hold to the former, as the ship is obliged

to be moored some two miles from town, where, in winter the wind blows very heavily and renders it impossible to load the boat without wetting the powder, indeed sometimes it is so rough on the bay that it is dangerous to be in a boat—Last winter in going off one day the boat was upset & the ship-keeper was floating about the bay on the keel of the boat for several hours before he could be rescued.

The value of Mr. Heyl's<sup>17</sup> opinion in matters relating to your business should be qualified by several grains of allowance. He would be very sorry to see *us* build a magazine—indeed he was the strongest opponent we had in obtaining the permit from the City, by means of an intimate friend in the Council. Could he find the friends to build one himself, and business enough to support it, he would be very clear of acting up to his advice.

He does not by any means possess the confidence of our merchants as he has been in the habit of purchasing worthless powder for a trifle and mixing it with good powder that was stored with him, filling his own kegs with other people's powder: his own man admitted this





to our ship keeper. Could we moor our vessel where it suited us, we would prefer her to a land magazine, but as things are, it is too much risk. The *Dryade* suffered severely last winter and caused us many a night and day of anxiety, for fear of hearing of damage or total loss. Our "Land Commissioners" have been keeping us a long while in suspense as to the "City Title" but having waited so long, it is better to be patient as the case is submitted and held under advisement, so that their decision is daily expected, than to buy a doubtful lot. . . .

*Robert Lammot to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, December 31, 1854*

In the course of a short time Mr. Gibbons & myself shall, for the present, dissolve our business connection. He will continue in charge of your business under the name of our old firm G&L altho' he will be associated with another firm, Stedman & Eldridge, a young auction and commission house who has already won for itself an enviable standing both for integrity and business ability.<sup>18</sup> He goes in as an equal partner, and I think has formed an eligible connection for one year.

During the past two years our business has been getting worse and worse. To save our Eastern consignors from loss, we have held on to their goods at a continued expense to ourselves, in the vain hope of improvement in our market while a greater damage has resulted both to them and ourselves. In consequence of such losses, our consignors have totally ceased shipping excepting yourselves; indeed, in the face of present and future prospects we have advised them to this course—tho' by so doing we leave ourselves in the lurch. In regard to your business, we flatter ourselves that it has advanced to a very respectable position, and I hope to your entire satisfaction: at any rate, if such is not the case, it has not been owing to any want of exertion and attention on our part. But your business alone, tho' steadily increasing, will scarcely support itself, let alone two of us—almost

*I intend leaving San Francisco soon  
to join my brother on his farm where  
I shall try for a year if the occupation  
of a farmer cannot be made to pay better  
than a commission business  
—worse it cannot.*

without exception, our sales of powder have been in lots of from one to five packages—requiring the constant presence and attention of some one in the office, making out orders on the magazine and making out the bills, while a large portion of our time is consumed in shipping these small lots and collecting the bills. Now we do not wish you to understand that we complain of the amount of work done—but we do most respectfully represent that 5% commission does not pay us anything at all for our labor.

We have to give a book-keeper (whose time is almost exclusively devoted to your account) \$150 per month or \$1800 a year—while all the commissions on your business for the last year has been but about \$1500. To give you an idea of the way we sell powder—from the 14th Oct. to the present time, we have drawn 345 orders on the magazine. Had we had an adequate supply of the various kinds, especially of Blasting, we could often have made sales of large lots, which we had to decline, and to dole out the little we had in dribs, in order to keep our customers. In fact, it has been and must necessarily be, a jobbing business, and we think that could you be fully aware of all the facts, you would not hesitate in advancing the rate of commissions to 10%. The usual jobbing rate—and I can truly say that I believe that *no* other house in San Francisco could or would have worked harder for it, or for your interest than we have.

I intend leaving San Francisco soon to join my brother on his farm where I shall try for a year if the occupation



of a farmer cannot be made to pay better than the commission business—worse it cannot. In the meantime Mr. G. will conduct your business with his usual ability, and I trust you will advance your own interests by keeping a good large stock here, principally Blasting, FFFg & FFG in kegs and FFG & FFFg in halves & quarters, so that our customers will never have to be stinted in the quantity they want. I do not think that the prices will be reduced—at least materially so—this coming year, as outside shippers are becoming tired of the article.

*Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, December 31, 1854*

From Mr. Lammot's letter to you under this date, you will learn of his intention to withdraw for the present from Mercantile pursuits, and of my prospect of forming a new commission.

It is a source of mutual regret that circumstances make it to his interests to take such a step, but, as we cannot control our own destinies entirely, we must submit to the current that we cannot stem.

With respect to the connection that I have made, it may be gratifying for you to learn, that it is one of the highest respectability, and the business both safe & lucrative.

In consulting our own feelings and your interests, the powder business will be carried on as heretofore in the name of G & L—and under my sole control—The *profits* of said business are to be shared with Messrs Stedman & Eldridge for the term of our copartnership—one year.

In view of the style of our present firm remaining as it is, we have thought it most proper that there should be no change in the style of the other firm.

An office will be taken in Stedman & E's building, and the sign of G & L removed thereto—So that the business of G & L shall remain to all appearances, distinct from any other.

The past two years have proved so disastrous to

shippers generally, that Robert & myself concluded that we would not *urge* our claims for business upon any, (your good selves excepted) and thus subject ourselves to reproach—for the position of Commission agts. is so painfully unpleasant in a bad season that we desire to avoid this crowning evil. And as I possess some real estate that promises to become valuable in the course of a few years it would have been more agreeable to me to confine my mercantile transactions to your business and such others as might come without solicitation. But as the commissions on your account are insufficient to enable even *one* of us to carry it on independently of other business, I am compelled to connect myself with another concern.

\$150. pr mo. as clerk's salary in this city is only equivalent to \$500 pr year in Phila—all things considered, and the character of the powder business here is necessarily such as to require a clerk.

Now deduct a clerk's salary from the commission on powder sales, and something less than nothing is left—Office rent, wear and tear of mental machinery & shoe-leather, are perquisites over the wrong shoulder. In this posture of affairs, Messrs S. & E.'s share of the profits of your business will be otherwise than flattering—But after these representations, we make bold to suggest, that some proposition on your part with a view of changing the complexion of the matter, would be very gracefully received.

The fact is, that Gibbons & Lammot have lost money on your California business, tho' they have no idea of complaining—For when the writer was last in Delaware, it was a matter of pride for us to get your account, and to *show* you what we thought you were a little skeptical about—i.e. that we could do your business to your satisfaction.

My new partnership is for the period of one year, as before stated, and at the expiration of that time if things are favorable Lammot & myself will renew the relationship which we regret to sunder.

*Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, June 29, 1855*

... The Hazard Co's Agt. is compelled to remove his magazine and was yesterday viewing a site in proximity to ours.<sup>19</sup>

We have presented an ordinance, or a draught of one, to the Board of Co. Supervisors as follows—"No Magazine or Building for the storing of Gun powder, shall be constructed or used in the County of San Francisco, within the distance of one half mile from any other Building or Magazine which may be already in use for the same purpose."

They have promised to pass the same tomorrow—We may say in connexion with this that we have presented the "celebration committee" with four kegs of "Cannon Powder" for 4th of July purposes. They stipulated however at our request, to give us no vote of thanks—

We did not wish the ordinance & the thanks to appear at the same time.

*Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, July 10, 1855*

... We note your remarks concerning the Shot Shipments and have no desire to urge the matter if it be contrary to your views. In the course of another year we hope to be in a position to import shot on our own account in case you don't feel prepared to do so—for independent of its being a help to the Powder Business it can be made profitable of its self.

... As noted in our last, the ordinance prohibiting Powder Magazines in proximity to each other was passed by the board of Co. Supervisors.

... Our former Porter & present Magazine keeper have had a hard time lately with a horse of ours.

The writer has had for some months past one of a pair of ponies that he owns draughted into the powder service—(the work being hard for one horse). Meantime he was driving rather a spirited animal instead of the

pony. His wife finally rebelled at the absence of the pony, as she was not permitted to drive the other team. This being the case, I brot the spirited horse over & took the pony home. I warned Mr. Fulton not to put said horse in single harness, and when riding him to be watchful in using the curb rein. My advice was disregarded & the horse ran away with a light wagon belonging to a friend of Fulton. Our old Porter (who was driving) and a man named Bill were left on the road side—the former badly bruised & the latter with a broken arm. Three kegs of Powder were also victims of the occasion.

A few days after this, the same animal threw Fulton over head & gave him a kick in the forehead & left him two hours senseless. Nothing saved the mans life but the absence of a shoe on the horses foot.

We have concluded that this horse won't suit the powder business—at all events Mr. Fulton thinks so.

*Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.  
San Francisco, October 19, 1855*

... The new wagon is not exactly what we could have wished<sup>20</sup>—the wheels are low and clumsily heavy while the springs are so weak that 20 kegs *keeps* them together—we intend having extra plates put in—the wheels are set wrong in some way, for the axles are heated by driving in or out from the Magazine to an extent that rather alarms our driver—though he cleans and greases them every morning.

The prospect is good for a brisk demand for all kinds of Powder during the coming winter and spring, altho' some enterprising genius has commenced putting up works in Sacramento for manufacturing Rifle Powder and expects to do a flourishing business at it, to the exclusion of the importers.

The powder label and business notice are from the Gibbons & Lammot papers in the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Delaware.

## Notes

1. A. M. M. M'Elroy, *Philadelphia Directory for the Year 1849*.
2. Lammot, like other eager entrepreneurs, would take on a load for travel at Chagres on the Isthmus of Panama.
3. Hereafter Du Pont & Co. Both Lammot and Gibbons had a distinctive hand. When the author is unclear the firm's title is used.
4. Truitt and Truitt, grocers, corner of Front and Sacramento streets, San Francisco. A. W. Morgan & Co., *San Francisco City Directory*, 1852
5. Mr. McLean appears often in the letters under various spellings and always under disappointing circumstances. Charles P. Kimball's *San Francisco City Directory*, 1850, notes a Hector H. McLean as "Inspector of the Storekeeper's Office in the Custom House Basement." Lammot, however, in a letter to the Du Pont Company not included in this collection, describes McLean more sardonically: "He has been removed from his office of Magazine Keeper for misconduct, and is generally considered a complete scoundrel. . . ." Gibbons & Lammot to E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., July 21, 1851, Accession 500, Series I, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware.
6. Commission merchants at Montgomery and California streets, San Francisco. Charles Kimball, *San Francisco City Directory*, 1850.
7. Commission merchant at 65 Jackson Street. James M. Parker, *The San Francisco Directory*, 1852-53.
8. The City Powder Magazine was located at 46 Battery Street. Le Coont & Strong, *San Francisco City Directory*, 1854.
9. The Hazard Powder Co. of Hazardville, Connecticut, was one of the three great American black powder companies of the nineteenth century. The other two were Du Pont and Lafin and Rand. Arthur P. Van Gelder and Hugo Schlatter, *History of the Explosives Industry in America* (New York, 1927), p. 256.
10. Gustav Beck and Henry Palmer were the commission merchants at Washington and Stockton streets who handled Du Pont's powder business in San Francisco from May, 1850 to May, 1852, when the firm was dissolved.
11. Loco Foco was the derisive name given to a nineteenth-century radical faction of the Democratic Party (originally called the "Equal Rights" party) which opposed alleged favoritism by the Jackson administration in granting bank charters to corporations. At a meeting in Tammany Hall on October 29, 1853, the Equal Rights Party wrested control of the New York City caucus. When their opponents turned off the gas lights in retaliation they produced candles which they lit with "Loco Foco" matches and continued the meeting. See F. Byrdsall, *The History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party* (New York, 1842).
12. FFFg is a powder-label symbol designating the degree of fineness of rifle powder. The system progresses from F, a large grain, to FFFF, a very fine or small grain powder. The subscript g indicates glazed powder, and a subscript r meant rough or unglazed powder. Norman B. Wilkinson, "Glossary of Powder-making Terms" (unpublished research aid, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware).
13. During their business association Gibbons and Lammot each traveled to the East Coast, Gibbons in 1852 to meet with Henry du Pont and urge for receipt of the Du Pont commission, and Lammot in 1853 to visit family and friends in Delaware and Pennsylvania.
14. Keeping gunpowder dry to avoid lumping was crucial to its use and performance. Nineteenth-century wooden-hulled ships could rarely be depended upon to keep cargoes completely dry during the four-month passage around Cape Horn.
15. Lammot was in the East visiting family and friends.
16. Filibuster was the term given to adventurers who took part in unlawful military expeditions into foreign countries in aid of revolution or, more often, for personal aggrandisement. Gibbons' reference probably pertains to William Walker's expedition to Lower California and Sonora. Walker sailed from San Francisco in 1853 with a small force and landed in Lower California, proclaiming it an independent republic with himself as president. Shortly thereafter, he "annexed" the neighboring state of Sonora. The adventure came to an end with United States government interference in Walker's shipments of supplies and troops. See Edward S. Wallace, "The Grey-Eyed Man of Destiny," *American Heritage*, IX (December, 1957): 28.
17. In 1854 Mr. Heyl held the office of superintendent of the City Powder Magazine, at 46 Battery Street. Le Coont & Strong, *San Francisco City Directory for 1854*.
18. Curiously, the Stedman & Eldridge firm does not appear elsewhere in Du Pont Company records, later Gibbons correspondence, or available San Francisco directories spanning the years 1850-60.
19. In October, 1854, Gibbons and Lammot secured a magazine lot with a "squatter and possession" title, culminating three years of political wrangling. ". . . It is 2 3/4 miles [south] in a 'bee line' from 'Portsmouth Square' and about the same distance by water from the foot of Market Street wharf. . . ." In spite of much protest from the Du Pont Company regarding the plot's dubious title, the firm quickly erected a magazine and soon added a house, pier, and fencing funded in part by the sale of the store-ship *Dryade*. Gibbons & Lammot to E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., October 31, 1854, Accession 500, Series I, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library.
20. See Rodmond Gibbons to Dupont & Co., October 15, 1853. The wagon reached San Francisco in early October, 1855, and was a disappointment from the start. Rodmond described the wagon as ". . . a truly great affair, and we opine that either you did not see it previous to shipment, or else the horses about the Brandywine have grown much stronger than they were within our recollections. . . ." Rodmond Gibbons to E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., October 4, 1855, Accession 500, Series I, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library.





*Tour-bus passengers on California's Redwood Highway paused to inspect, enjoy, and measure one of the big trees made accessible by the new and luxurious motor coaches.*



# California by motor stage

*Some 500 photographs documenting a remarkable era of experimentation, innovation, and luxury in California's transportation history were donated to the CHS Library in 1975 by the Estate of Arthur H. Samish. The post-World War I photographs are from the files of the Motor Carrier Association, one of several organizations which the controversial Mr. Samish represented as a lobbyist in Sacramento from 1920 to 1950.*

*Also given to the Society was one of the most complete existing sets of The Motor Carrier, the Association's monthly informational and promotional periodical published from 1922 to 1952. The photographs reproduced in Mr. Bail's pictorial essay, unless otherwise identified, are from the files of the Motor Carrier Association in the CHS Library.*

## THE EDITOR

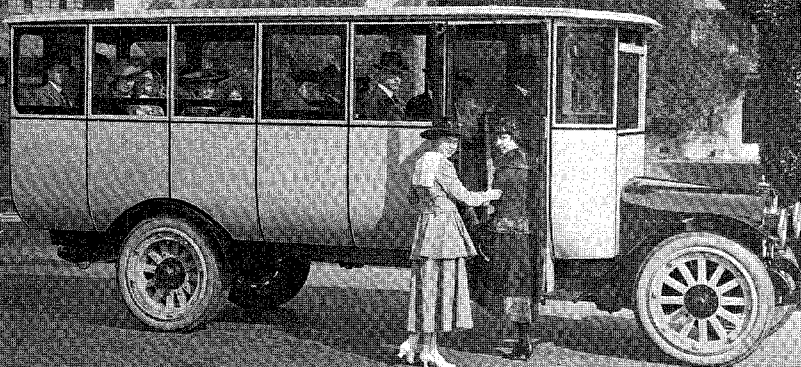
The history of intercity bus transportation, presently a billion-dollar service industry, spans only some sixty-odd years. From the first occasional runs between remote towns, made in individually-assembled chassis-and-body combinations, the industry has grown to serve more than 15,000 communities, a vast majority of which have no other form of public passenger transportation. Today's buses, which are privately owned and unsubsidized, travel over 270,000 miles of roads and highways and fill a need not met by other modes of transportation.

The need for intercity public transportation, of course, developed with the urbanization of the nation. Waterways and then railroads superseded stages and freight wagons in meeting the increasing demand for transportation of freight—and passengers—to the interior of the expanding nation. For some three-quarters of a century, in fact, railroads reigned as the principal means of passenger and freight transport. Not until the 1880's, when the tinkers of the eastern and midwestern industrial belt turned their attention to the horseless carriage powered by the internal-combustion engine, did the country witness the first stirrings of an alternative commercial vehicle business.

By the late-nineteenth century, the industrial northeast had been blanketed by railroads, and the flat Midwest boasted the electric interurban railway.

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Mr. Bail, western vice-president of the Motor Bus Society and a collector of historic bus photographs, frequently contributes articles on California transit to the Society's monthly magazine, *Motor Coach Age*.



*In 1916 D. M. Brockway affixed this simple body by Crown Carriage Works to a Mack Model AB chassis to produce one of California's first motor coaches. Pneumatic tires on wood-spoke wheels and electric headlights assured a safe ride by the standards of the time. Crown Coach builds school buses to this day.*

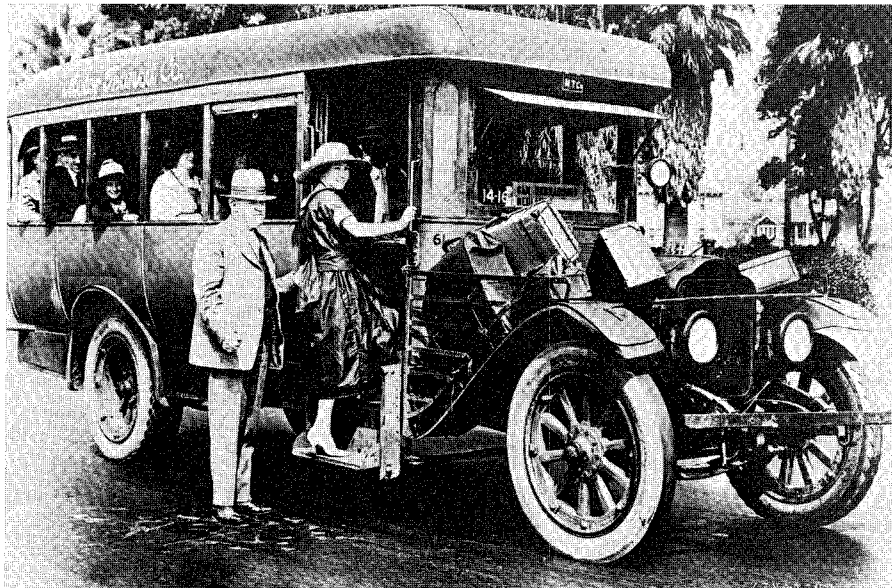
In the South and the Great Plains, rail lines were fewer but still sufficient to serve the regions' economic needs. Only in the newly-opened territories where railroads were least developed were they vulnerable to competition from any new mode of transportation. In the timber country of the Pacific Northwest, the iron ranges of Minnesota, the oil fields of Texas, and particularly in the agricultural region of California, population and commerce expanded more quickly than steel rails could follow. And it was in California that the intercity bus industry was born.\*

Both hobbyists and entrepreneurs quickly recognized the potential of adapting the internal-combustion engine for commercial use. As early as 1905 gasoline engines propelled occasional limousines and touring cars carrying passengers and baggage between railroad stations and resorts and hotels.

Yet, only individuals with a certain pioneering spirit and inventiveness could reasonably expect to participate in the development of commercial motor vehicles from the as yet unproved, and barely improved, autos and trucks. Foremost, buses as such did not exist. Wagon-makers recently turned truck-body builders had yet new demands placed upon them by pioneer bus entrepreneurs who, themselves, frequently entered the field via auto dealerships. Parts, nearly impossible to secure from manufacturers, had to be forged by local blacksmiths. Unimproved roads rapidly chewed up tires, which were rarely interchangeable between vehicles of different makes and models, and tire recapping and rebuilding proved to be a major expense in operating buses.

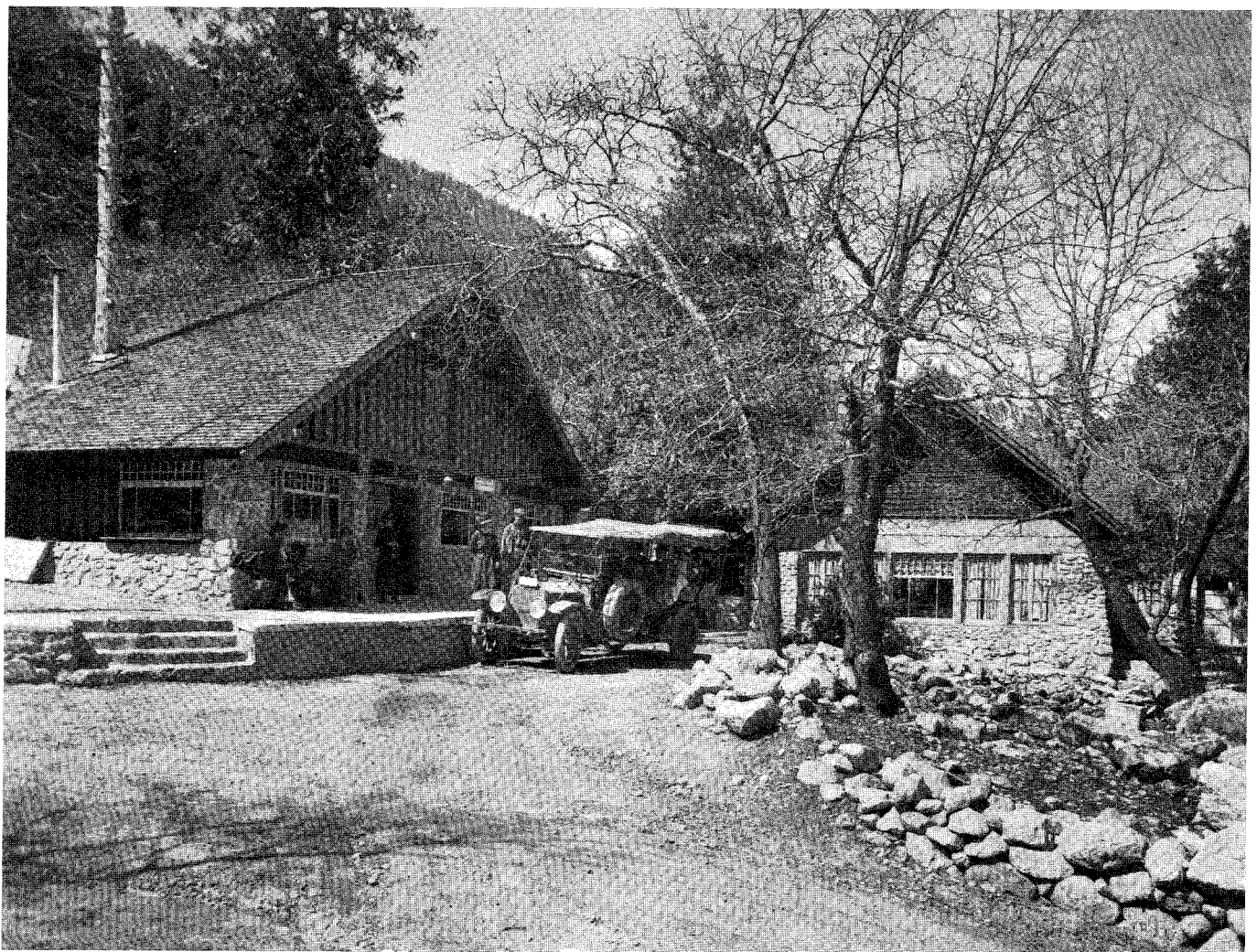
\*For more extensive information on the growth of the industry, and text and photographs on buses to the present day, see Albert E. Meier and John P. Hoschek, *Over the Road: A History of Intercity Bus Transportation in the United States* (Upper Montclair, New Jersey: Motor Bus Society, 1975). Much of the material in this article is based on information in this publication, and is used with the permission of the authors.



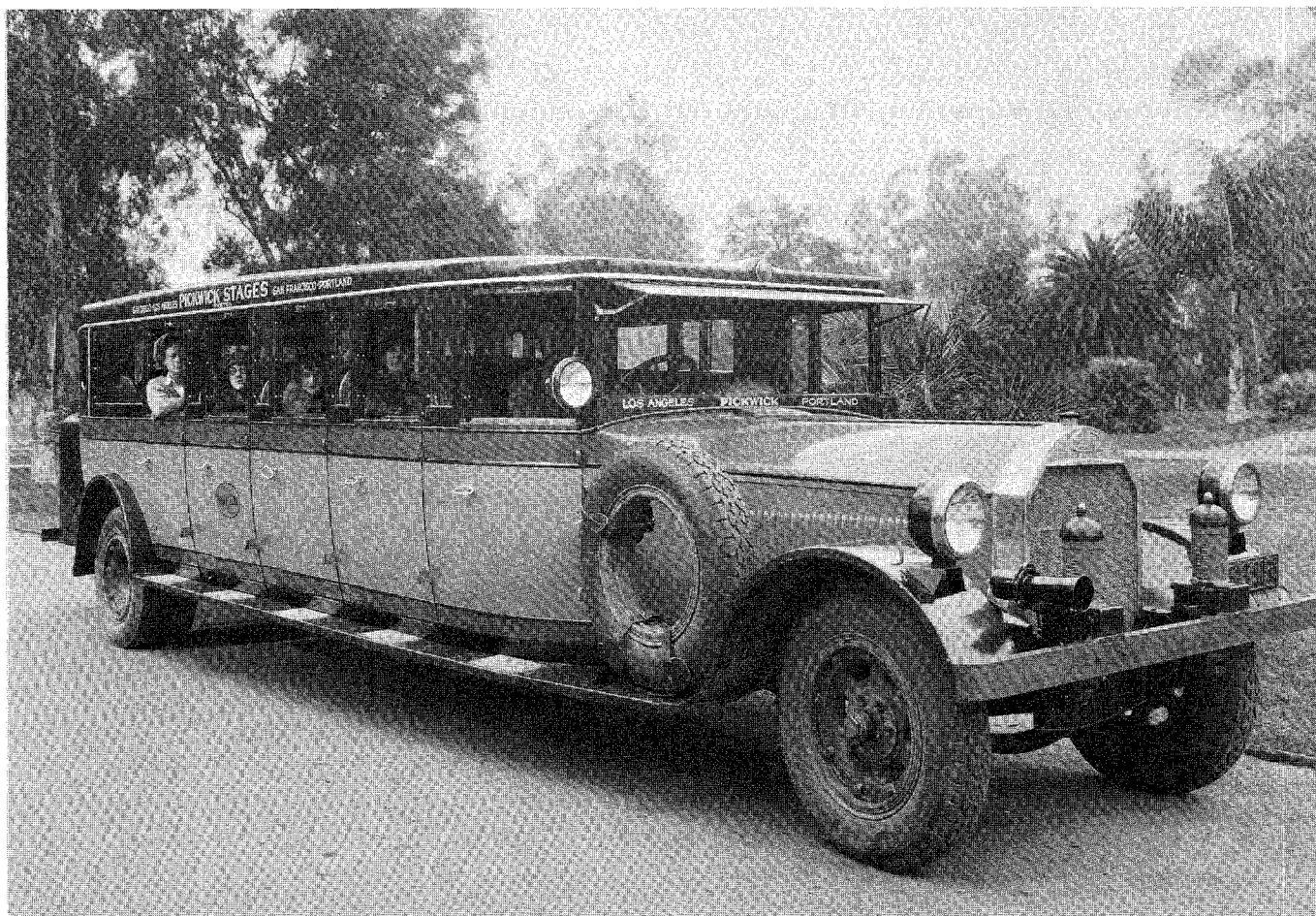


*This compact, open, twenty-one-passenger White chassis with Avery body typified the Motor Transit Company during the expansive years of the early 1920's. Fender wells held luggage on the 3½-hour run from Los Angeles to San Bernardino and Redlands. Motor Bus Society*

*Around 1912, Mountain Auto Line began carrying hardware and groceries fourteen miles from San Bernardino to the mountain town of Crestline. Passengers, at first only begrudgingly accommodated, sat in seats bolted on behind the driver. This White-made tourer with canvas top carried at least four spare tires to guarantee arrival at the mile-high resort of Forest Home. Motor Bus Society*







With purpose-built buses still in the future, early California stage operators began service with touring cars. Successful entrepreneurs offering long-distance service preferred expensive, heavier cars—the Pierce-Arrow, Packard, and Cadillac. Highly modified to meet local requirements, the original cars were frequently unrecognizable by the time they reached service. Operators of local and suburban routes, where speed and comfort were less important, chose light truck chassis—Reo, White, Mack, and Moreland. Locally-built, wood-frame bodies, open on the sides, were fitted to these chassis after the style of the stretched-out touring cars used in long-distance services. While their Eastern counterparts still debated the possibilities of heating their buses, California operators advanced to installing reclining seats, radios, and fold-back roofs. By the mid-twenties rest rooms were not uncommon, and some routes offered buffet service.

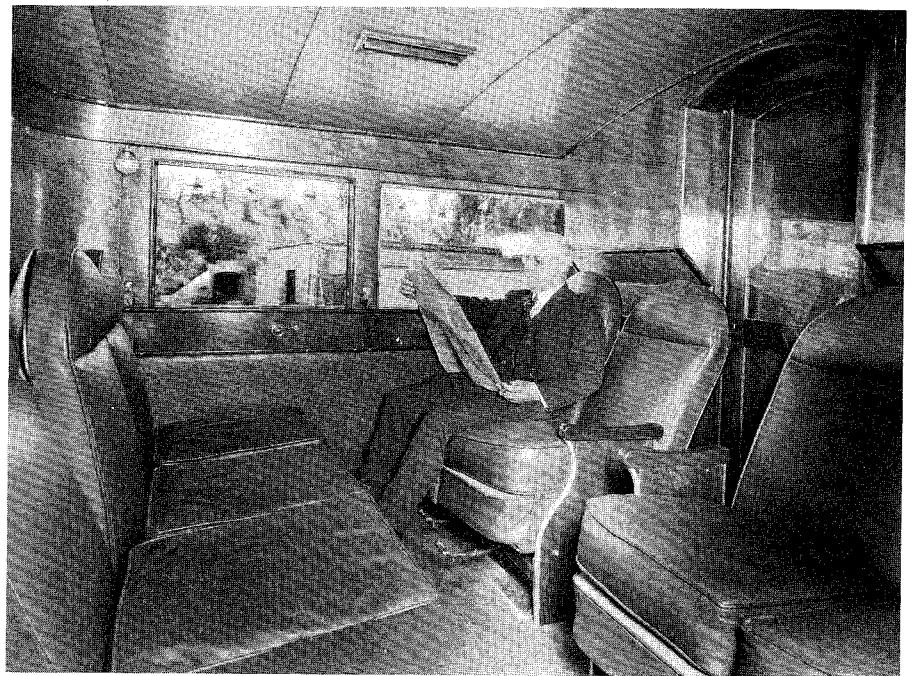
Mechanically, the low-slung, long-wheelbase stages used by California operators were far superior to the vehicles used in the East. Although California's popular door-at-each-seat construction carried on the older tradition of the rebuilt touring car, the six-cylinder engines, rebuilt radiators, heavier transmissions, and oversized brakes which soon graced the California machines promised better things to come.

*Pickwick Stages, in the bus-manufacturing business by 1925, customarily rebuilt Pierce-Arrow commercial chassis and equipped them with its own sedan-style stage body. This model seated thirty passengers in reclining seats, a welcome convenience on Pickwick's longer routes since 1922.*

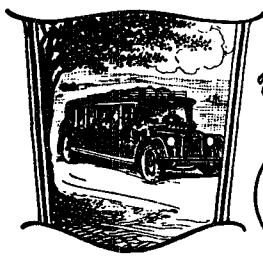




*In the mid-1920's stewards assigned seats to passengers on long-distance runs made in stages with individual doors. Ladies sat together, the infirm were offered the front compartments, and Mexicans and Orientals rode in the rear. Comfortably-appointed smoking compartments pleased male travelers.*







# THE MOTOR CARRIER

Travel by  
Motor Stage  
Transportation  
at Your  
Door

Vol. 6

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, SEPTEMBER, 1927

No. 1



THE SIDE SHOW'S A LITTLE LATE



### *Regulation*

In the early years, fares and schedules were determined casually by whatever the traffic would bear. Californians (and, later, other states) realized, however, that the traveling public would be better served if the free-wheeling aspects of the industry were regulated.

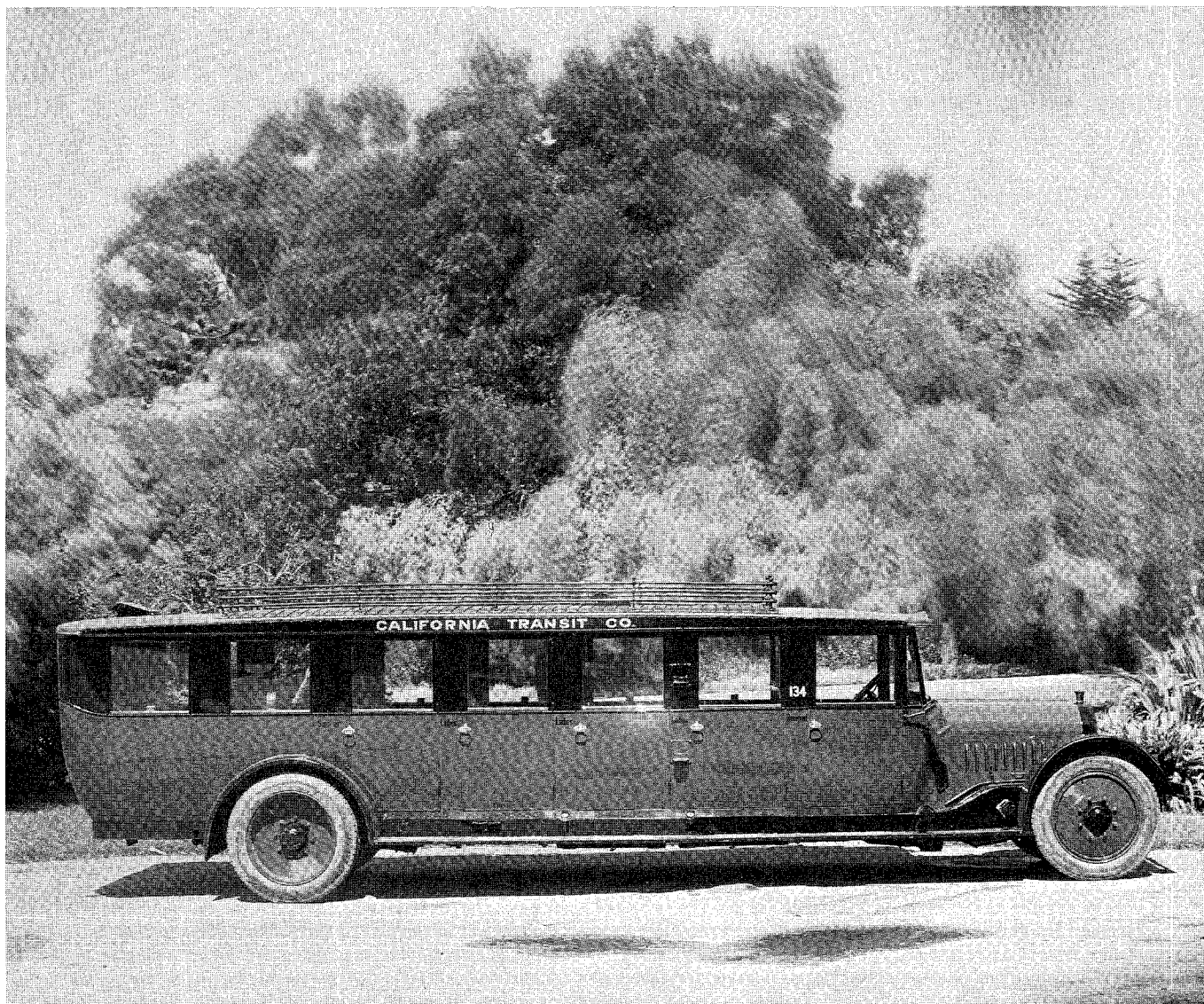
As a result on May 1, 1917, the state passed the Motor Carrier Act which declared that the California Railroad Commission would regulate motor carriers in addition to the state's other utilities. While existing motor stage companies were granted "grandfather rights" to continue operations, the first function of the Railroad Commission seemed to many stage operators to be to protect the competitive posture of the Southern Pacific Railroad and its subsidiaries. Although rail interests vigorously opposed applications for new or extended bus service after 1917, the motor stage business grew rapidly, and the men and machines that constituted its most important ingredients worked hard to keep pace.

Out of this antagonism stage operators formed the Motor Carrier Association of California in 1918 to unite the growing industry and promote its interests. Its principals included O. R. Fuller of the Motor Transit Company, C. S. Wren of Pickwick Stages, and W. E. Travis of California Stages.

### *The Operators*

From the automobile sightseeing and transfer services common in California in the 1910's, it was but a short step to intercity common-carrier operation. Competition and calamity consumed many pioneers, and out of the several-hundred operators which came under the jurisdiction of the Railroad Commission in 1917, three emerged which left a lasting imprint on the industry. All three excelled through a series of mergers and consolidations, and all three chose to construct their own equipment rather than accept the offerings of eastern truck-builders. Eastern vehicles, not surprisingly, proved ill-suited to the rigorous operating conditions of western roads and topography.

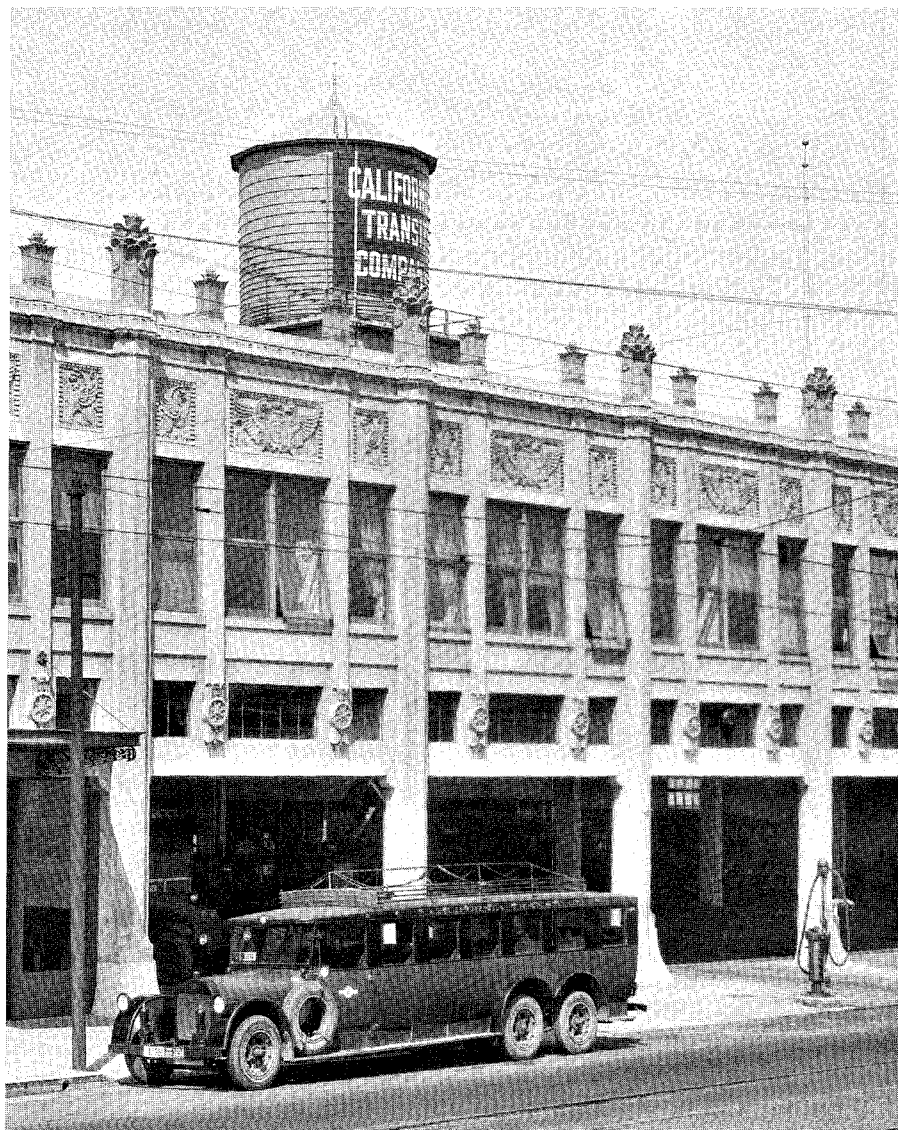
*Antagonism between the competing industries fostered the Motor Carrier's cynicism about Southern Pacific's attempt to cash-in on the success of independent stage lines, which had prospered in the 1920's despite railroad opposition exercised through the regulatory Railroad Commission.*



CALIFORNIA TRANSIT COMPANY—The story of W. E. Travis and the California Transit Company, which grew to be one of the largest segments of today's nation-wide Greyhound network, reflects the flexibility and growth of the early industry. Travis, whose father had been a western stage coach operator, began his transportation career as a star-route mail contractor. In 1905 he became interested in converting autos to taxi cabs, and, to secure machines of adequate capacity and durability, he began building taxi bodies on one-ton commercial White chassis. As competition in the taxi industry grew in the 1910's, Travis turned to manufacturing buses and then to operating buses himself by acquiring and merging individual carriers to whom he sold buses. By 1924, Travis had acquired associations and partnerships to give California Transit an extensive route network radiating from Oakland across Central California.

*California Body Building Company constructed its first complete coach for California Transit in 1923. The four-wheeler's frame was a one-piece fabrication replacing the earlier stretched and spliced chassis. Door labels reserved seats for classes of passengers.*





*California Transit may have operated as many as fifty of its own six-wheel buses by the mid-1920's. Dual rear wheels on a single axle replaced the double rear-axle machines, like the ones on the bus shown outside Travis' Oakland factory, which tended to skid on wet roads.*

*By the mid-twenties California Transit Company's buses fanned out across the state from Oakland and San Francisco to Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno, and Los Angeles.*

## Representative Equipment of CALIFORNIA TRANSIT COMPANY







*Quick to comprehend that the era of casual curbside loading and ticketing arrangements was passing—and that better facilities encouraged more travel and higher profits—Pickwick Stages opened a new hotel and terminal in San Francisco on Fifth Street between Mission and Market in 1924.*

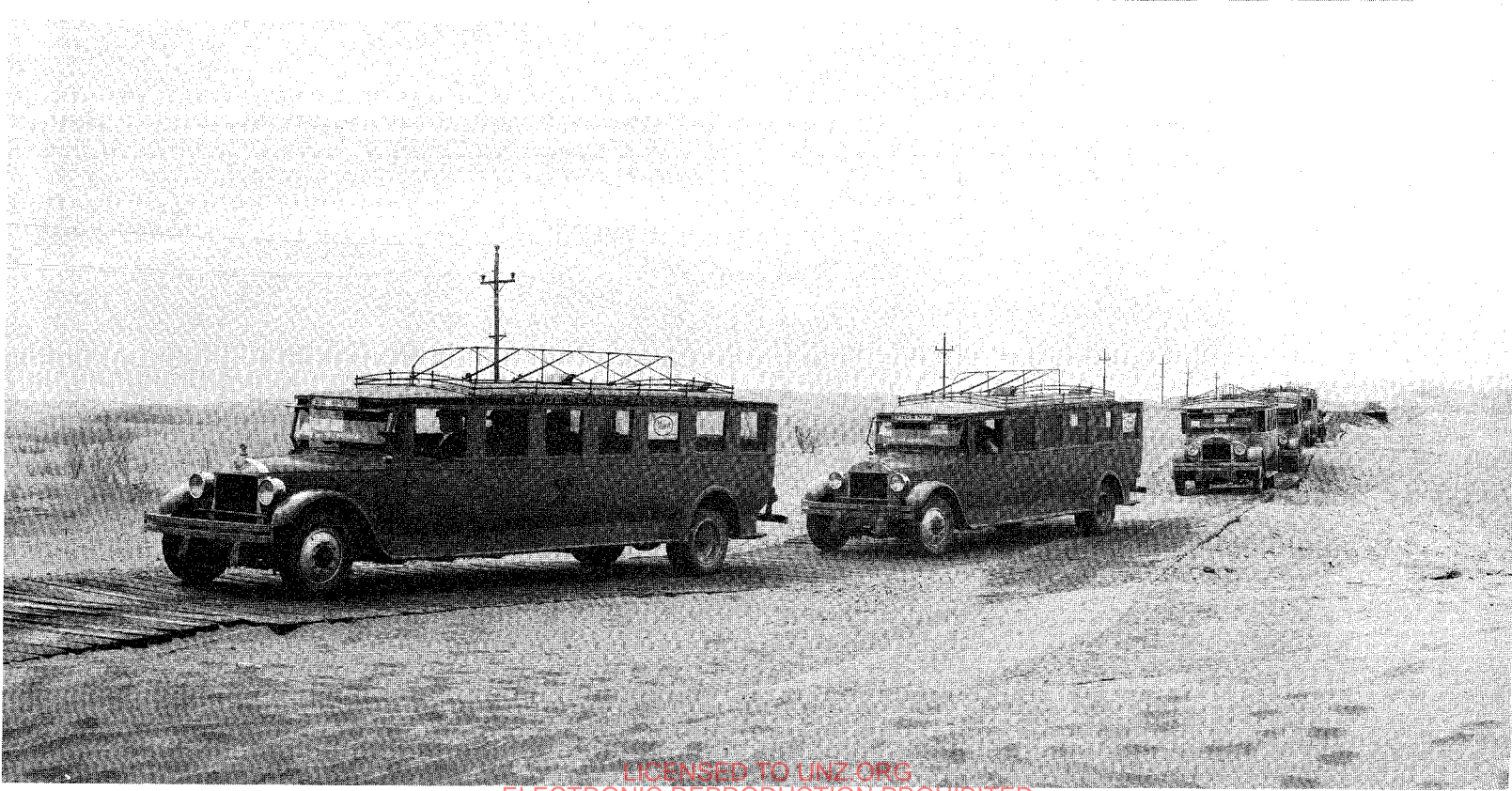
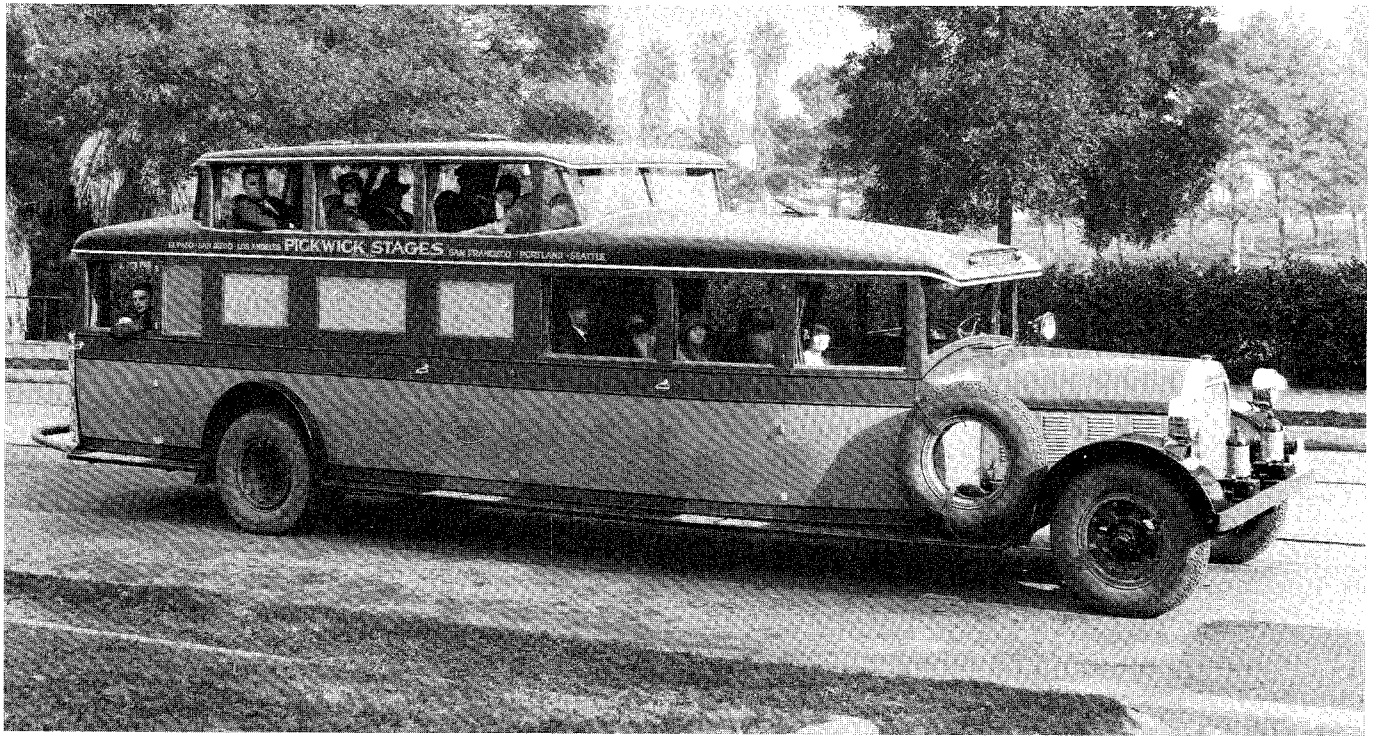
PICKWICK STAGES—Another early bus line, the Imperial Valley Auto Stage, ran 125 hard miles from San Diego due east to El Centro over the Old Spanish Trail. Imperial, like several owner-driver associations running this route, clearly bested the indirect rail service which took two days to detour via Los Angeles.

In 1912, Imperial's founder, A. L. Hayes, moved his location to a small stand in front of San Diego's Pickwick Theater, and before long the company became known as Pickwick Stages. A line to Los Angeles soon developed, and in 1918, Hayes merged his operation with that of C. S. Wren, who became the most important figure in the Pickwick empire. Wren had started a stage route between Los Angeles and Santa Barbara in 1915 which, by purchase and extensions, was running through to San Francisco in 1918.

*Pickwick expanded its routes by absorbing lines such as Borderland Transportation Company in 1925. Borderland extended 750 miles from San Diego across this plank desert road (photo taken near Holtville) to El Paso.*

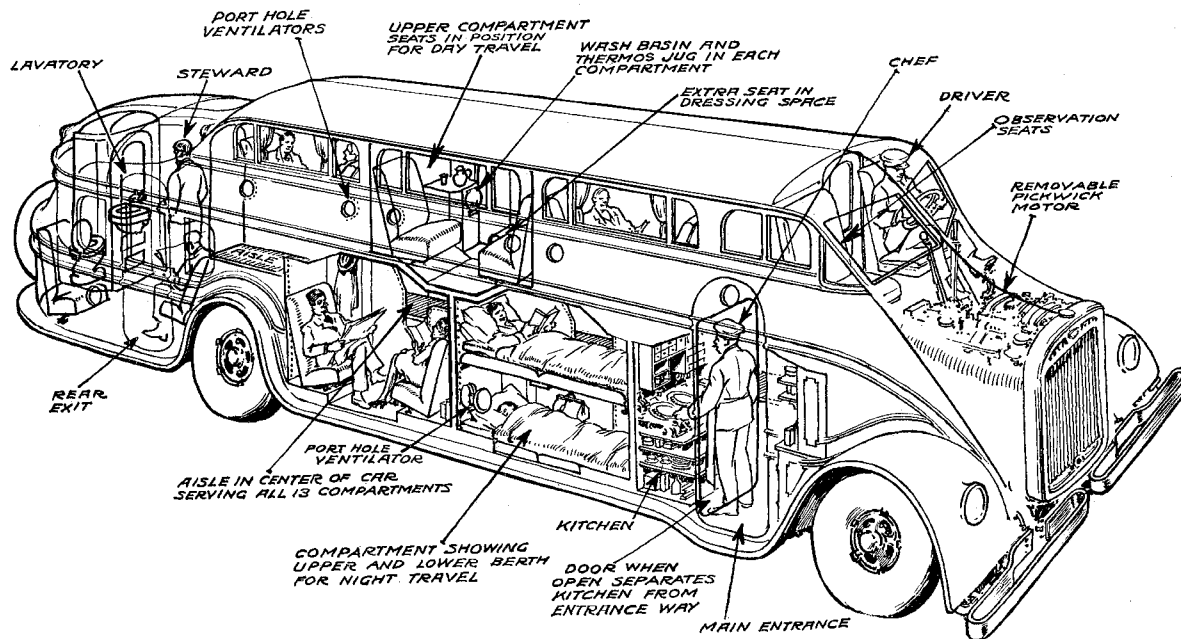
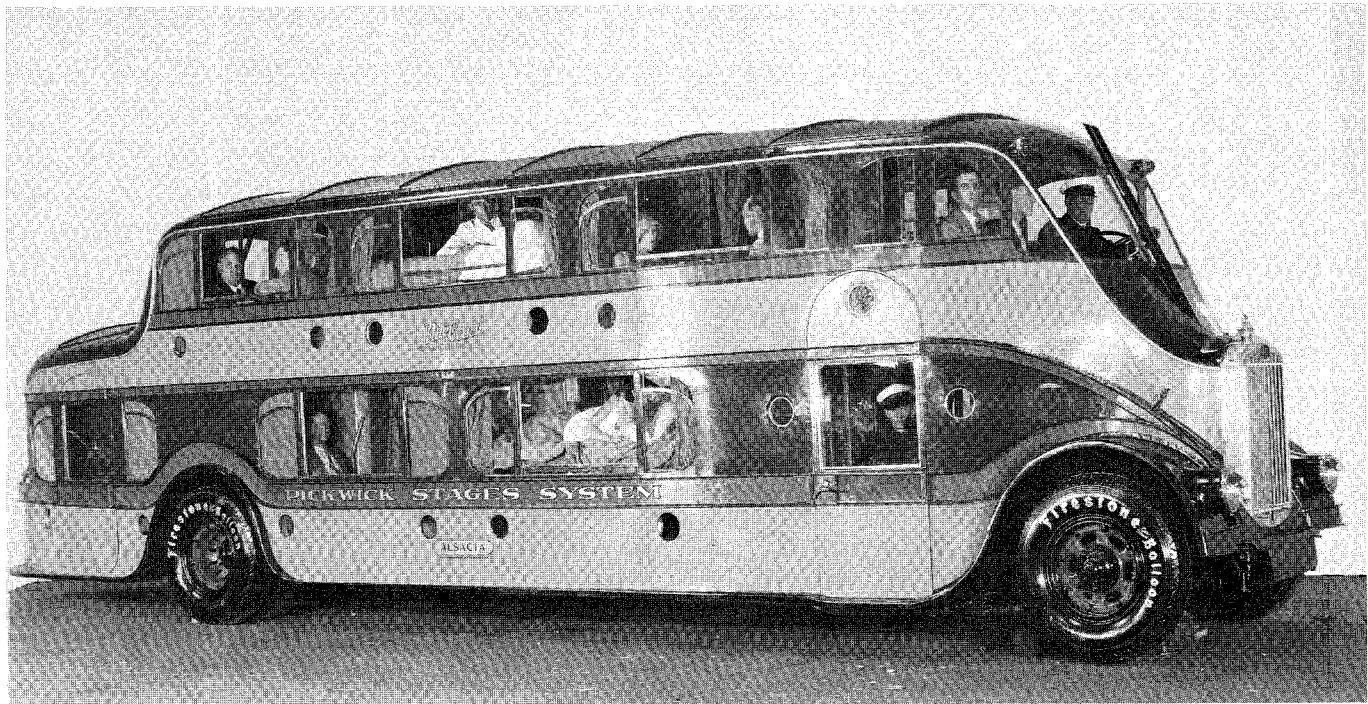


California by Motor Coach





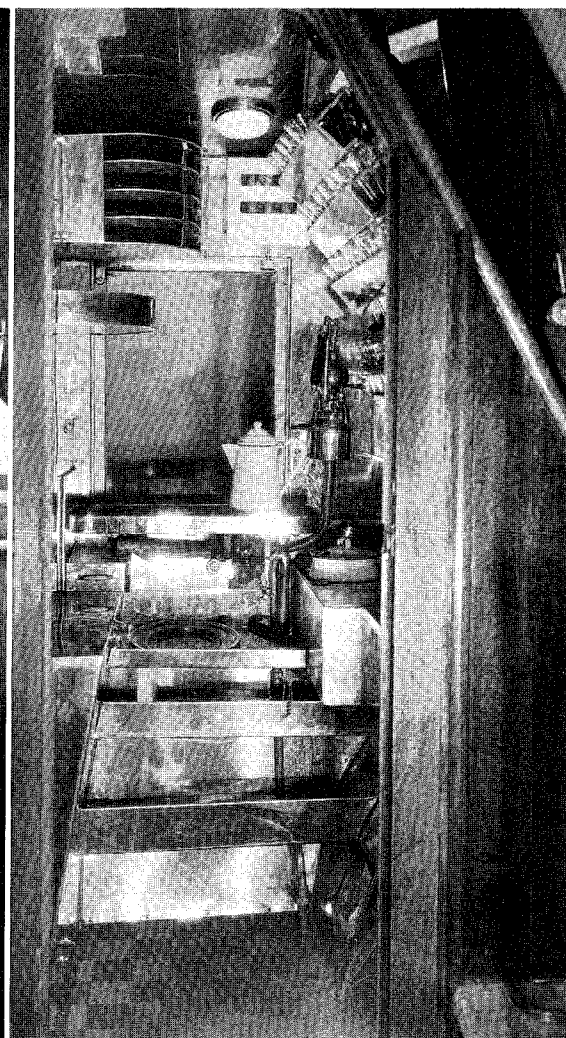
Surpassing even its own tradition of luxury, Pickwick introduced the thirty-five-foot-long "Alsacia," a Nite Coach carrying twenty-six passengers accommodated in thirteen semi-private compartments. Seats converted to berths, ending the necessity of overnight stops at hotels and transfers.





Wren introduced to the industry the luxury of reworked Pierce-Arrow touring cars which came to provide a standard of service unmatched by any competition. As a result, his coast route extended to Portland in 1921 and to Seattle soon afterward. Reorganized as a holding company in 1922, the Pickwick Corporation's assets reached more than \$2,000,000 (including 150 buses) in 1924. By the end of the next year, the Los Angeles shops were turning out new buses at a record pace, and the lines had reached Phoenix and El Paso by purchase of the Borderland Transportation Co.

*The cross-section drawing of the "Alsacia" identified its many features of comfort, including seats that folded to berths and a sparkling kitchen for preparation of hot meals.*





**MOTOR TRANSIT COMPANY**—In 1916, the Los Angeles distributor for White trucks, O. R. Fuller, reluctantly repossessed two chassis with passenger-stage bodies from the P&E Stage Line operating between Los Angeles and Anaheim. Renaming the enterprise White Bus Line, he soon made it profitable and proceeded to acquire other lines in the area. In 1919 he hired F. D. Howell, formerly chief engineer of the Los Angeles Bureau of Public Utilities, as general manager, and in 1920, the Motor Transit Company was organized to succeed White Bus Line.

During the next few years, Motor Transit acquired the lines of more than a dozen other operators, and the “El Dorado System,” as it was called, soon stretched from San Diego and Victorville to Bakersfield and Lancaster, as well as to the popular resort areas of the San Bernardino and San Jacinto Mountains.

*Motor Transit’s “El Dorado System” included runs to mountain resorts such as Lake Arrowhead and Big Bear Valley. Poor roads, high altitudes, strained vehicles, and snow plagued early travelers.*





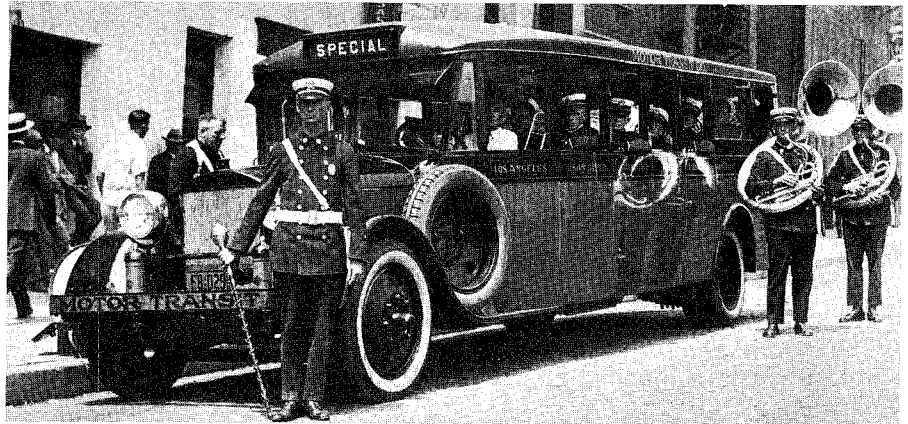
# SYSTEM MAP



Shows Where to Go How to Get There

Dependable DAILY Service  
at Frequent Intervals  
to Principal Points in  
LOS ANGELES -- SAN BERNARDINO  
RIVERSIDE & ORANGE COUNTIES

*Transportation of a brass band complete with horns proved no obstacle for Motor Transit in 1925.*



*Los Angeles' Union Stage Depot, built in 1919 by Motor Transit and shared with other stage lines, increased by 20 per cent the number of travelers riding the bus. Modeled after a railroad terminal, this busiest bus depot west of the Mississippi serviced some 270 runs a day in 1922.*



### *Merger and Consolidation*

By 1926 leading stage companies were forced to recognize that the relentless competition for California's major motor-stage routes was neither economical nor efficient. Toward the goal of consolidating territories for economy of operation, the Railroad Commission approved the so-called Tri-Stage Merger. This merger authorized an exchange of rights between Motor Transit, Pickwick Stages, and California Stages, and defined territories of service.

Motor Transit retired from the long-distance field, giving up its Lancaster and Bakersfield routes to California Transit and its San Diego line to Pickwick Stages. In return, local lines owned and controlled by Pickwick in the territory south of Los Angeles were transferred to Motor Transit. California Transit, in turn, purchased from Pickwick its local rights in the Fresno area, as well as a leased line which ran from Los Angeles to Bakersfield via Mojave. Accordingly, on May 13, 1926, the exchanges resulted in Pickwick Stages being the sole operator on the Coast route, California Stages holding a consolidated Valley route, and Motor Transit dominating Orange County.

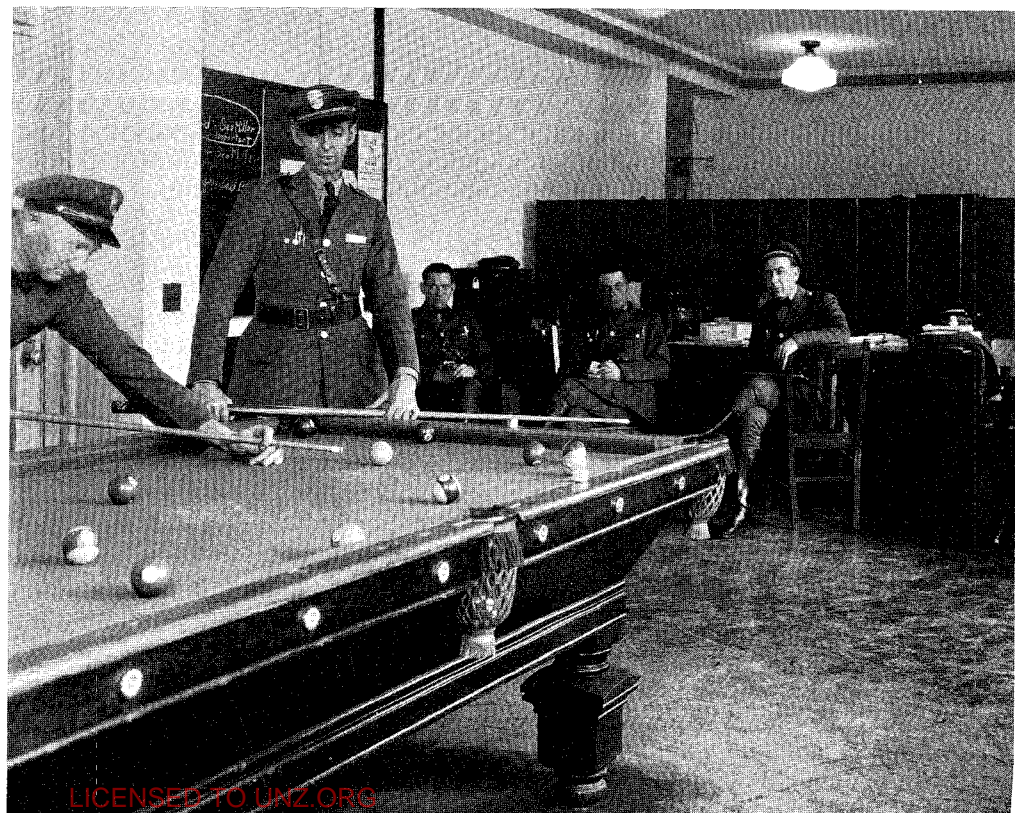
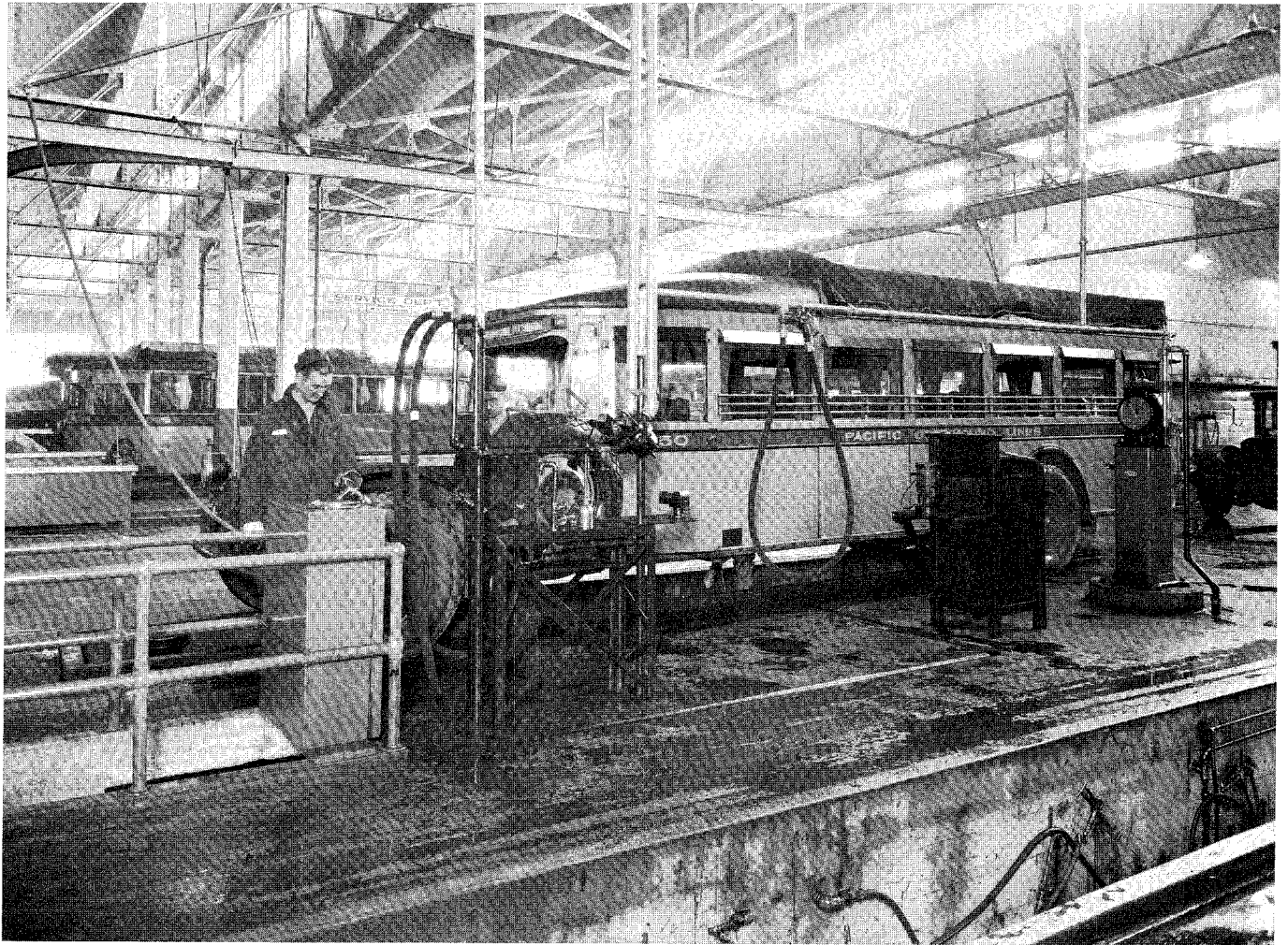
Following the Tri-Stage Merger, W. E. Travis expanded his lines eastward, and the home-built, yellow "Pioneer Stages" became the basis of an association of independent companies using the name "Pioneer Yellowway System." Travis purchased a small interest in each of the companies, which, together with the California Transit Company, formed a holding company called American Motor Transportation Company. This group of companies operated the first cross-country commercial bus, a Pioneer Stage which, in 1928, ran from San Francisco to New York in five days and fourteen hours.

By 1928, the Pickwick Corporation had expanded its holdings to include hotels, radio stations, and an airline. Under the guidance of the vice-president and manager, Dwight Austin, the Pickwick Motor Coach Works produced such innovations as the deck-and-half parlor coach and the sleeper bus.

Yellowway's transcontinental exploits soon attracted the attention of the Motor Transit Corporation, a midwestern holding-company operating under the name "Greyhound Lines." In the spring of 1928, the Greyhound system consisted of twelve different companies operating 325 buses. Seizing the opportunity to expand into California, Motor Transit Corporation purchased American Motor Transportation for \$6,000,000 in February, 1929, and Pickwick Stages later the same year. The California lines soon came under the umbrella of a new holding company called Pacific Greyhound Lines, owned one-third by Motor Transit, one-third by Pickwick, and one-third by Southern Pacific Railroad, which had started its own bus lines in 1927.

*As coach transportation became big business, corporate public relations departments continued to promote a safety-conscious and respectable image. In Portland, Pacific Greyhound focused on its inspection mirrors and teetotaling recreational facilities for drivers away from home and its well-lighted garage facilities.*







After the Tri-Stage Merger, Motor Transit Company (the Los Angeles operator) was transformed from an intercity carrier with some suburban routes into a strictly suburban carrier competing directly with the Pacific Electric Railway—a Southern Pacific subsidiary. Pacific Electric, through its parent's interest in Pacific Greyhound Lines, bought out the thriving Fuller-and-Howell creation, Motor Transit, for \$3,000,000 in 1930. By 1936, Pacific Electric had completely absorbed its erstwhile competitor.

### *The Independents*

While few early motor-stage operators succeeded in building lasting transit empires—and most sold or merged with the forming giants—a few persisted in business within their original territories. One such small-scale operation, which dates from 1914 when a group of independent operators ran between Oakland, San Jose, and Santa Cruz, was the Peerless Auto Stage Association. Incorporated in 1921, the Peerless Stage system still runs its original seventy-five-mile line, and two of its founders actively help manage the firm some sixty years after its founding. Although a small company, Peerless is an historic part of intercity bus transportation.

The advent of the 1930's brought major changes to the motor bus industry in California. The economic depression, of course, curtailed private travel and public luxury, forcing many small operators and some larger ones out of business. Many surviving firms merged and consolidated but ceased manufacturing their own equipment.

When bus construction stopped at the Pickwick factory upon formation of Pacific Greyhound Lines, an end came to the most innovative motor-vehicle designs ever produced. In 1930, too, manufacturing ceased at the Pioneer plant in Oakland.

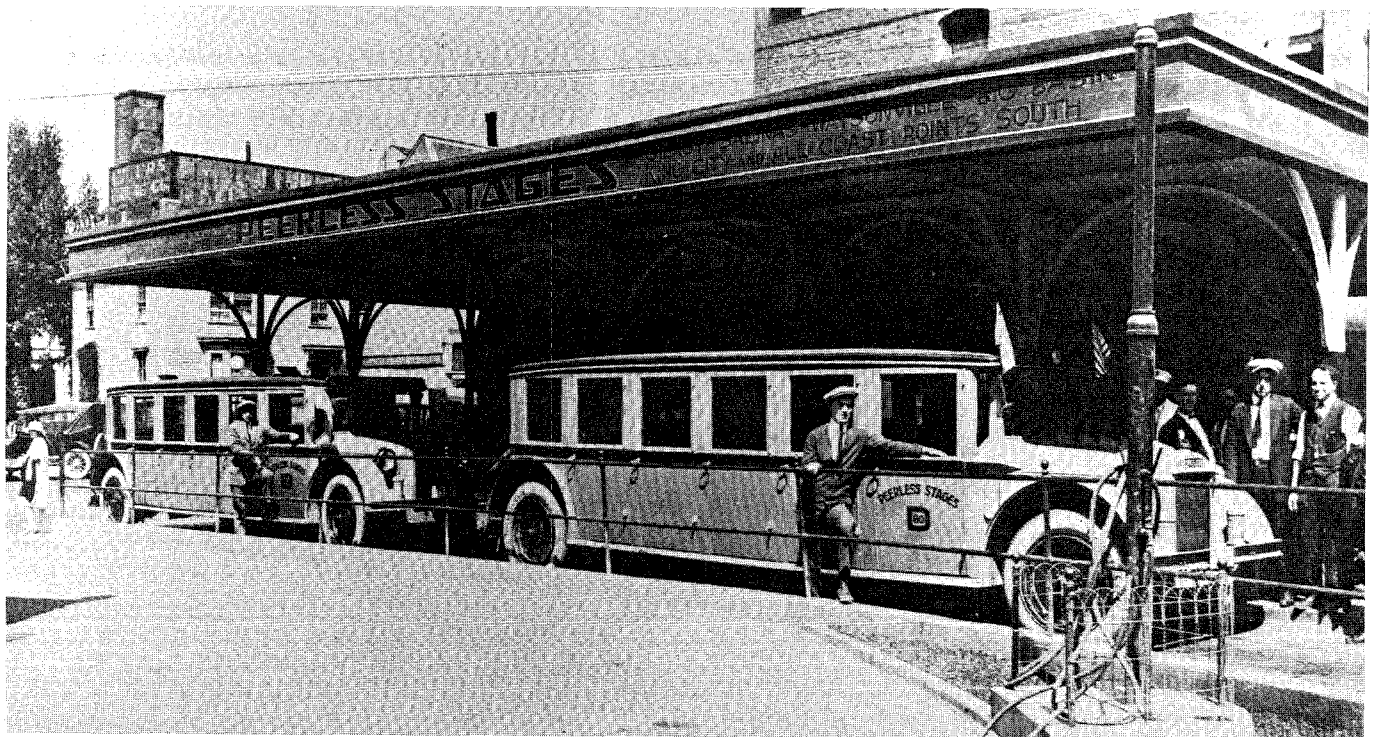
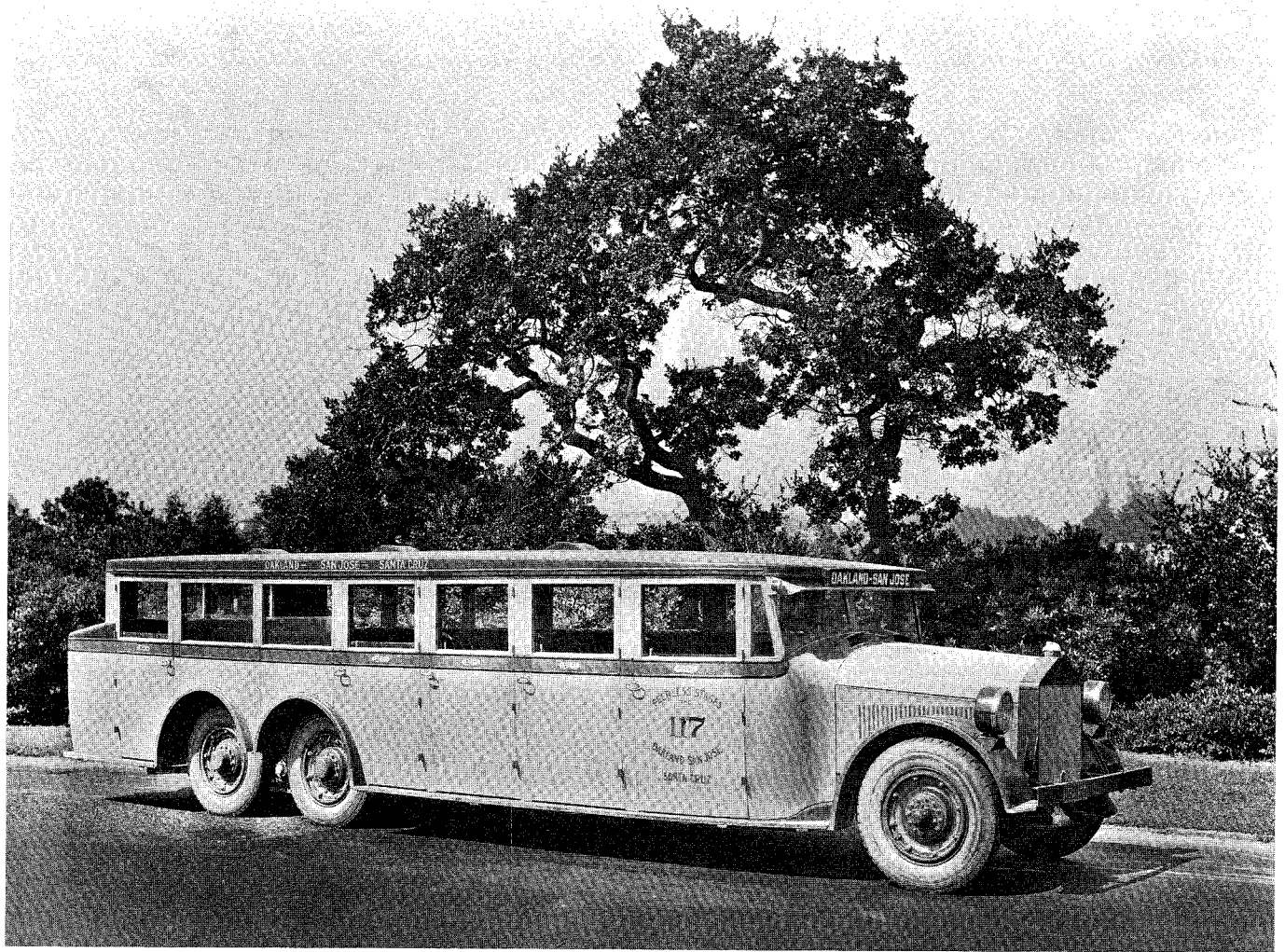
It is notable that long after Pacific Electric Railway absorbed the lines of the Motor Transit Company, it abandoned its interurban rail lines and returned to buses. The former Motor Transit lines became the backbone of the new system, and today, two successors later, these same routes are traveled by the Southern California Rapid Transit District.

Similarly, the former Pickwick Stages and California Transit lines form the core of Greyhound's western operations. While the busman's grand dream of competing with railroad Pullman cars may have crashed with the Depression, today's intercity bus network continues to provide a more essential service—stable and economical transportation for a large segment of the traveling public. □

*Peerless No. 117—a thirty-passenger, six-wheeler—was photographed in 1925 in Oakland's Lakeside Park, a spot favored by Peerless' publicity department.*

*In 1922 Peerless coach drivers posed with their machines in front of the Oakland depot at Eleventh and Clay. Over six decades their routes have remained largely unchanged, but the Fageol Safety Coaches—an East Bay product—are long gone.*









*Lovely to contemplate but with no basis in fact is this rendering of "The Founders of Los Angeles," a typical late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century historical fantasy.*



# a new look at the founding of *Old Los Angeles*

In 1876 the United States Centennial Commission asked communities around the country to prepare and publish their own local histories. The studies were to cover “the earliest settlement to the present time.” In Los Angeles three men—old timers, at least one of whom had lived in the city for nearly half a century—responded to the request with a slim volume entitled *An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County, California*. Semi-centenarian author J. J. Warner included an account of the founding of Los Angeles based largely on a personal inspection of original sources in public archives. Warner’s brief description of the event, phrasings which have appeared in many accounts since that day, has special interest, because his words are apparently accurate but subject to broad and varied interpretation:

The Town (Pueblo) of Nuestra Senora de Los Angeles [sic], under and in conformity to an order of the Governor of California, Phelipe de Neve, dated at the Mission of San Gabriel, August 26th, 1781, was founded in a formal manner on the fourth of September of the same year.<sup>1</sup>

Over the years Warner’s account has become “fact,” yet a new reading of more extensive records raises questions about the accepted whens, wheres, whos, and hows of the notable, if then inauspicious, events in 1781 on the

banks of the River Porciúncula. Warner identified only one of his sources, a certified copy of Governor Neve’s original order, which contained obvious and, as he said, inexcusable errors. He then concluded his account with the offhand remark that “other evidence before us fixed the date of the founding of Los Angeles in September, 1781.” That other evidence was apparently a copy of the original *padron del vecindario* or poll of residents of November 19, 1781.<sup>2</sup>

Warner’s account, dated 1876, is the earliest publication citing official records that documents the city’s founding. While his choice of words is very much like that of another historical sketch published about 1872, the earlier account, also probably written by Warner, contained no documentation.<sup>3</sup> Contemporary accounts written by Father Francisco Palou during the 1770’s and 1780’s have been rejected by most historians.<sup>4</sup>

In 1886, Hubert Howe Bancroft published a detailed and carefully documented history of California which contained the first history of Los Angeles reflecting an extensive examination of archival materials. Bancroft’s description of the actual founding, however, is a model of cautious understatement: “We only know that the pueblo was founded September 4th, with twelve settlers and their families, forty-six persons in all.” Because one of the twelve was “at first absent at Loreto,” as was the man’s daughter, Bancroft concluded that the actual founding group contained eleven families with a total of forty-four persons.<sup>5</sup>

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Mr. Kelsey is chief curator at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.

This study was financed in part by grants from the American Philosophical Society and the Natural History Museum Foundation.



Later historians offered a few important details in variance with those put forth by Warner and Bancroft, particularly involving the number of people in the founding party, the existence of a military escort, previous military service or lack thereof on the part of the settlers, and the ceremony attending the foundation. But most historians have accepted that on September 4, 1781, about eleven families of settlers trekked from San Gabriel and took part in a ceremony establishing the city on the banks of the Rio Porciúncula.<sup>6</sup>

If any doubt remained in the minds of researchers about the details surrounding the founding of Los Angeles, it seems to have been foreclosed in 1931. In that sesquicentennial year of the city's birth, Thomas Workman Temple published the results of his investigations, accompanied by lengthy translations of original documents. Temple concluded that eleven families of settlers—forty-four persons—settled Los Angeles on September 4, 1781.<sup>7</sup> However, a reevaluation of the sources, some of his own as well as other records now available, indicates that the city was founded in a somewhat different way than has been previously believed.

The story begins in April, 1781, when California Governor Felipe de Neve moved from Monterey to San Gabriel to await the arrival of the soldiers and settlers destined for the new pueblo of Los Angeles and the missions and presidio that he planned to establish in that Santa Barbara Channel region. Whether Neve took any steps to prepare the channel sites for settlement is unknown, but he did begin work immediately at the site selected for the new pueblo of Los Angeles.<sup>8</sup>

The site had been scheduled for a mission since 1769 when Franciscan Father Juan Crespí first saw it and named it *Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de la Porciúncula* for the river on which it was located. An Indian town already occupied the spot, "a fine *ranchería*" where the Indians were "very docile and friendly," according to Crespí.

They called the town Yabit, and, as the good fathers said, the people were "the cleanest we have seen." Most importantly, however, the Indians apparently liked the padres and wanted them to stay.<sup>9</sup>

The friendly disposition of the Indians at Yabit apparently did not change over the years, for in 1779 Teodoro de Croix, the frontier commandant general, remarked in a letter to Lieutenant Governor Fernando de Rivera y Moncada that the local natives were "docile and without malice." Taking advantage of this attitude, in the spring of 1781 Neve apparently travelled to the "fine *ranchería*" and selected three dozen boys and girls for conversion to Christianity. Neve himself acted as godfather at twelve of the baptisms. Just before the soldiers and settlers from Mexico began to arrive, Neve chose a young married couple, renamed them Felipe de Neve and Phelipa Theresa de Neve, and not only sponsored their baptism but remarried them "in the eyes of the Church."<sup>10</sup>

Neve's motivations for the unusual actions went unrecorded, but we do know that his new *Reglamento* or regulations for government and administration urged the founding of towns and missions. Effective on January 1, 1781, it was calculated in part to bring about a radical change in the mission system and, perhaps, a reduction in the temporal power of the padres. No longer were Christian Indians to reside at missions. Instead, they would live at their *rancherías*, practice a degree of self-government, and return to the missions from time to time for religious instruction.<sup>11</sup> The new group of youthful Indian converts at Yabit, headed by the young Indian couple renamed Neve, could well have been intended as the nucleus of a Christian Indian settlement adjoining the new pueblo of Los Angeles.

Title Fourteen of Neve's new *Reglamento* supports this interpretation. As put forth in the document, one major purpose of the new towns in California would be "to hasten the conversion . . . of the countless pagans." Commandant General Croix's instructions to Rivera noted,

Relación en que se mayor se recurren las Cuentas de los tres de  
nominados, Obispos, con arreglo a sus Ajustes hasta el día  
de Marzo de 1782, que por sup. orden del Sr. D. Felipe de  
Nevé Conde de Aranda, D. Excmo. Governador de la Península de España  
y Com. Sup. de sus Reinos, se les dio salida.

Obispo de Orense

Comenta de un fuero Provisional, n.º 18, se le minis- tró por el Capitan D. Fernando de Rivera, y el Capitan D. Juan de Dios, y Vagagor.	192.6.11
Por el Sr. D. Juan de Dios, en Rivera, y Vagagor.	106.1.2.1/2
Por el Sr. D. Juan de Dios, en Rivera, y Vagagor.	22.2.4.1/2
<b>Total Cargo</b>	286.2.2.1/2

Almones

En la Cuenta Provisional se le abonaron	107.1.4.1/2
por el Capitan D. Fernando de Rivera, y el Capitan D. Juan de Dios, y Vagagor.	192.2.1/2
Por las puestas de Muestra que devolvieron	106.1.2.1/2
Por la Dación de 1/2 de Días que ha pasado en un año de 22 de Julio que fue en la de 22 de Julio, hasta el 22 de Julio del Cor. de Inclusión	1028.1.6.1/2
Por su Plazo vencido de 22 de Junio de 1780, que se registró hasta el día de 22 de Julio de 82, a razón de 1/2 de mes	2.2.2.6.1/2
<b>Total Cargo</b>	1047.1.7.1/2

Antonio Utrera

Comenta de un fuero Provisional, se le minis- tró por el Capitan D. Fernando de Rivera, y el Capitan D. Juan de Dios, y Vagagor.	231.3.3.1/2
Por el Sr. D. Juan de Dios, en Rivera, y Vagagor.	107.1.1.6.1/2
Por el Sr. D. Juan de Dios, en Rivera, y Vagagor.	28.3.2.1/2
<b>Total Cargo</b>	367.2.6.1/2

Almones

En la mencionada Cuenta Provisional se le abonaron por el Capitan D. Fernando de Rivera, y el Capitan D. Juan de Dios, y Vagagor.	106.2.2.1/2
Por las puestas de Muestra que devolvieron	103.1.2.1/2
Por la Dación de 1/2 de Días desde el día del Junio de 1781, que llegó aquí a 1/2 de Julio de 82	108.3.4.5.1/2
<b>Total Cargo</b>	307.2.6.1/2

Relación en que se mayor se recurren las Cuentas de los tres de  
nominados, Obispos, con arreglo a sus Ajustes hasta el día  
de Marzo de 1782, que por sup. orden del Sr. D. Felipe de  
Nevé Conde de Aranda, D. Excmo. Governador de la Península de España  
y Com. Sup. de sus Reinos, se les dio salida.

Obispo de Orense

Comenta de un fuero Provisional, n.º 18, se le minis- tró por el Capitan D. Fernando de Rivera, y el Capitan D. Juan de Dios, y Vagagor.	192.6.11
Por el Sr. D. Juan de Dios, en Rivera, y Vagagor.	106.1.2.1/2
Por el Sr. D. Juan de Dios, en Rivera, y Vagagor.	22.2.4.1/2
<b>Total Cargo</b>	286.2.2.1/2

Almones

En la Cuenta Provisional se le abonaron	107.1.4.1/2
por el Capitan D. Fernando de Rivera, y el Capitan D. Juan de Dios, y Vagagor.	192.2.1/2
Por las puestas de Muestra que devolvieron	106.1.2.1/2
Por la Dación de 1/2 de Días que ha pasado en un año de 22 de Julio que fue en la de 22 de Julio, hasta el 22 de Julio del Cor. de Inclusión	1028.1.6.1/2
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<b>Total Cargo</b>	1047.1.7.1/2

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<b>Total Cargo</b>	307.2.6.1/2

Lieutenant Ortega adjusted the accounts of departing settlers Mesa, Lara, and Quintero, and incidentally confirmed their arrival at San Gabriel in June and July, 1781.



moreover, that a prime duty of the Los Angeles settlers would be "to attract the Indians joyfully by the practice of true justice and good example to the knowledge of our Sacred Religion."<sup>12</sup>

Expecting opposition from the missionary priests, Neve remained silent while residing at San Gabriel in early 1781 about this aspect of his *Reglamento*. Instead, he told the fathers only that they lacked skill at proselytizing, an activity, he urged, at which he excelled.<sup>13</sup>

While the governor amused himself at San Gabriel and annoyed the missionaries with his conversion work, the settlers who had enlisted to establish the new town of Los Angeles were slowly making their way north to meet him at Mission San Gabriel. They were accompanied on their trek by a band of fresh recruits destined for the Upper California presidios.

The entire party had been recruited and organized with some difficulty by Captain Fernando de Rivera y Montcada in Sonora and Sinaloa. Rivera led the larger part of the group, including most of the soldiers, on a northerly overland trail through Sonora and Arizona. The Los Angeles settlers traveled with a smaller military escort by sea to Loreto and the northern end of the Baja California peninsula and then overland north to San Gabriel.

The original group of settlers destined for Los Angeles included about sixteen heads of families. Some fell by the wayside long before reaching San Gabriel, but all those who completed the sea and land journey traveled with their families and worldly possessions. So far as the financial records of the expedition now show,<sup>14</sup> those who enlisted were:

1. José de Lara, his wife María Antonia Campos, two sons, and a daughter;<sup>15</sup>
2. José Antonio Navarro, his wife María Regina Dorotea, two sons, and a daughter;<sup>16</sup>
3. Basilio Rosas, his wife María Manuela Calixtra, five sons, and one daughter;<sup>17</sup>

N 726. Or  
Ximo S. 26

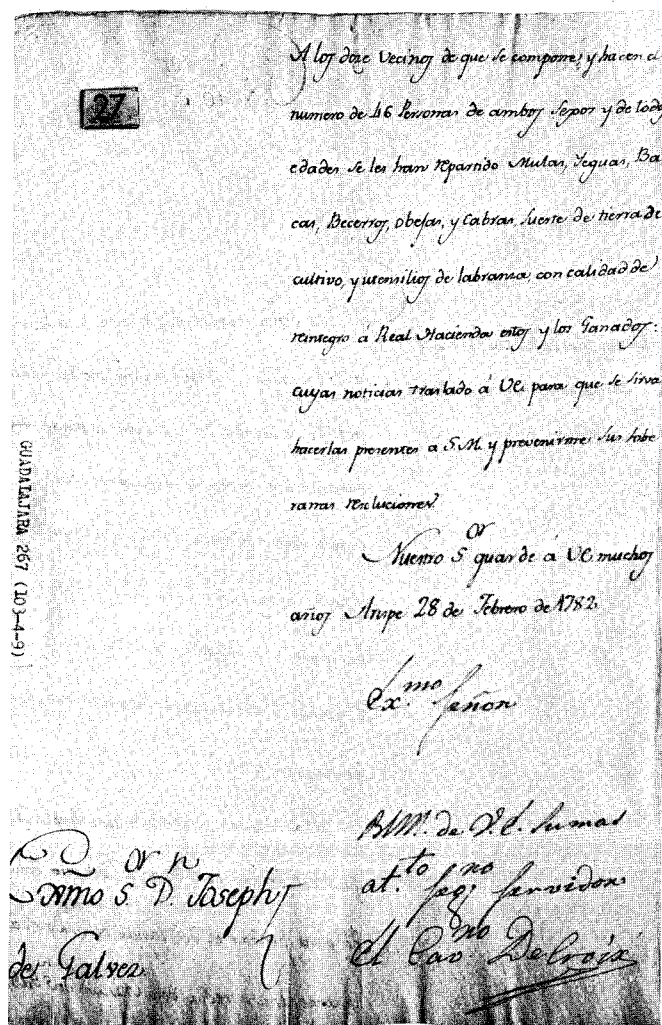
Al Señor mío el Gobernador de la Intendencia de California D. Felipe de Neve me dio cuenta en 19 de Noviembre del año proximo pasado de que el día 14 de Septiembre antecedente venfuso el establecimiento del nuevo Pueblo de la Reyna de los Angeles al margen del Rio de la Tormenta con parte de los pobladores que redujo el difunto Capitan D. Fernando de Rivera y fueron su viaje por Mar.

Esta distante el referido nuevo Pueblo a siete guar del Presidio de S. Diego, 27 del lino designa do para fundar el del fanal de S. Barba ta y como una y media de la Misión de S. Gabriel.

GUADALUPE 267 (103-4-9)

4. Antonio Mesa, his wife Ann Gertrudis López, a son, and a daughter;<sup>18</sup>
5. Antonio Villavicencio, his wife María de los Santos Severina, and one daughter;<sup>19</sup>
6. José Banegas, his wife María Máxima Aguilar, and one son;<sup>20</sup>
7. Alejandro Rosas, and his wife Juana Rodríguez;<sup>21</sup>
8. Pablo Rodríguez, his wife María Rosalía Noriega, and one daughter;<sup>22</sup>

Commandant General de Croix wrote to José de Gálvez that Governor Neve "formally certified the establishment of the town" on September 4, 1781, with a portion of the settlers recruited by Rivera.



9. Luis Quintero, his wife María Petra Ruvio, one son, and four daughters;<sup>23</sup>
10. Manuel Camero, and his wife María Thomasa;<sup>24</sup>
11. José Moreno, and his wife María Guadalupe Gertrudis;<sup>25</sup>
12. Antonio Miranda Rodríguez, and one daughter;<sup>26</sup>
13. Pedro Pablo Rodríguez, one son, and two daughters;<sup>27</sup>
14. Nicolasa Ramírez, one son, and two daughters;<sup>28</sup>

15. Rafael Mesa and family;<sup>29</sup>

16. Miguel Villa, his wife, one son, and two daughters.<sup>30</sup>

Only the first eleven families, forty-four individuals in all, completed the journey to Los Angeles. Antonio Miranda Rodríguez remained in Loreto, Baja California, with his daughter who contracted smallpox.<sup>31</sup> Pedro Pablo Rodríguez died on August 28, 1780, in Real de Cosalá, where he had enlisted. His daughters Juana Simona and Lucinda, along with his son Vizente, traveled to California with the other settlers, and the girls almost immediately married soldiers at San Diego.<sup>32</sup>

Nicolasa Ramírez, a widow, had enlisted as a settler in October, 1780. Almost as soon as the party reached San Gabriel, she married Recruit Guillermo Soto, the only eligible bachelor among the enlisted men in the military escort, and thereby moved from the rank of settler to that of military personnel.<sup>33</sup> Although widows and widowers may have seemed dubious pioneer material, a precedent had been established in the founding of San José, and in any case the widow quickly found herself a husband.<sup>34</sup>

The settler Rafael Mesa deserted at Real de los Alamos about October 12, 1780. For a time the California officials debated whether Mesa was a soldier or a settler; however, a list prepared at Alamos on July 15, 1781, just a few days after his enlistment, specifically listed him as a settler.<sup>35</sup>

About the final family head, Miguel Villa, there was no question. He definitely enlisted as a settler, and he definitely deserted in Mexico about March 4, 1781.<sup>36</sup>

The military escort party consisted of the following fifteen soldiers, most married and with families:<sup>37</sup>

1. Lieutenant José de Zúñiga;<sup>38</sup>
2. Ensign Ramón Laso de la Vega;<sup>39</sup>
3. Recruit Julián Guerrero and his wife;<sup>40</sup>
4. Recruit Francisco Javier Sepúlveda, his wife, five sons, and one daughter;<sup>41</sup>
5. Recruit Agustín Leyva, his wife, and five sons;<sup>42</sup>
6. Recruit Victorino Félix, his wife, and four children;<sup>43</sup>



7. Recruit Guillermo Soto, bachelor;<sup>44</sup>
8. Recruit Eugenio Valdéz and his new bride;<sup>45</sup>
9. Recruit Justo Hernández, his wife, one son, and two daughters;<sup>46</sup>
10. Recruit José Lovo, his wife, and four sons;<sup>47</sup>
11. Recruit Josef Antonio Cortéz and his new bride;<sup>48</sup>
12. Recruit Gaspar López, his wife, four sons, and a daughter;<sup>49</sup>
13. Recruit Joaquín Rodríguez and his new bride;<sup>50</sup>
14. Recruit Francisco Juárez, his wife, and one child;<sup>51</sup>
15. Recruit Fructuoso María Ruiz and his new wife.<sup>52</sup>

In addition, María Pasquala, wife of soldier Miguel Silva who was attached to the San Francisco presidio, traveled with the group to join her husband in California and brought along her daughters.<sup>53</sup>

While there may have been others, in September, 1781, Lieutenant Zúñiga claimed responsibility for only fifteen military families, eleven settler families, and two widows. Zúñiga's entire group had assembled in the inland town of Real de los Alamos following Commandant General Croix's detailed plan and Rivera's personal orders. They then departed for the Playa de Santa Barbara at the mouth of the Rio Mayo, where boats were to take them across the Gulf of California to Loreto.<sup>54</sup>

With so many civilian families in the party it was not easily organized. While most of the group departed Alamos for the coast on February 2, 1781, two sailors left earlier, perhaps to prepare a camp for the others, and settlers José Moreno and Antonio Miranda Rodríguez remained until February 16, perhaps in the company of another settler, Luis Quintero, who did not enlist until February 3 after most of the others had already departed.<sup>55</sup>

The settlers crossed the gulf and arrived in Loreto, Baja California, apparently bringing with them a smallpox epidemic which quickly spread throughout the entire peninsula. Most of the party seem to have stayed for some days in Loreto, perhaps in a quarantine camp. Then, on

March 12, 1781, Ensign Laso took seventeen of the civilian and military families (probably the healthy ones) by ship up the gulf to the Bahía de San Luis. On April 24 they began the long march overland to San Gabriel.<sup>56</sup>

Lieutenant Zúñiga followed some days later with the remaining families. In the confusion Antonio Miranda Rodríguez and his daughter were left in Loreto. For a time it was thought that Rodríguez had deserted like Rafael Mesa and Miguel Villa, but word soon came that the poor fellow's daughter was recovering from smallpox and that he expected to continue the trip when she was well again.<sup>57</sup>

Considering the geographical isolation, communications between Upper and Lower California were surprisingly good. On April 16, 1781, Father Fermín Francisco Lasuén in San Diego reported that Zúñiga's party was on its way north with a total of 133 persons. His letter was written a full month before Governor Neve reported officially that Laso and part of the group was headed north from Bahía de San Luis, trailed by Zúñiga with the rest of the party. Before another month had passed the first settlers arrived in San Gabriel.<sup>58</sup>

This June arrival date is definite from records dated March 22, 1782, that adjust the accounts of three settlers who were leaving Los Angeles. In words that speak of "this Mission" and "this destination," Lieutenant José Francisco Ortega, commandant of the proposed new presidio at Santa Barbara and the surrounding military district, reported that one Antonio Mesa had entered San Gabriel on "the ninth day of June, 1781."<sup>59</sup>

Apparently, at least three other settler families arrived with Mesa in June, and all settled quickly on their land. Father Francisco Palou, whose source was probably the priests at San Gabriel, relayed this information in much the same way as Lasuén reported on the progress of the settlers marching north from Bahía de San Luis. Very shortly after the information reached him, Palou probably sat down, as was his habit, and wrote the following account in his ongoing manuscript history of California:

*“A town is started that had  
its beginnings about June of ’81.  
In it are established four families  
of people of reason and  
four soldiers of the escort.”*

There arrived first at San Gabriel the people who came by way of Old California, and as soon as part of them arrived he [Neve] gave them the order to found the projected town of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles with some four families [*unos cuatro familias*]. . . . The rest of the troop was kept at San Gabriel Mission until the group arrived that came [overland] by way of the Colorado River.<sup>60</sup>

The exact date of Palou’s entry has not been established, although historian Herbert E. Bolton has contended that each section of the manuscript was written soon after the event described.<sup>61</sup> Regardless, another of Palou’s lengthy, undated entries about the presidios and missions of California must have been written soon after Los Angeles was founded and finished no later than the fall of 1782. In the manuscript Palou described the new pueblo:

*Town of Our Lady of the Angels*

About three leagues directly northwest [of San Gabriel] on the banks of the River named Porciúncula a town is started that had its beginning about June of 81. In it are established four families of people of reason and four soldiers of the escort.<sup>62</sup>

Some months later, in a similar but more extensive account of the missions and settlements of California, Palou repeated much the same information about the founding of Los Angeles. “This settlement,” said Palou, “was started in June, 1781.” He noted then, however, that there were eight families of settlers, rather than the original four who had come together on the site.<sup>63</sup>

These developments followed a certain logic, for Neve’s own *Reglamento* provided that each settler be placed on the land just as soon as he arrived. According to this regulation each settler was entitled to 10 pesos a month in pay and 2 reales per day for rations, beginning at the time of his enlistment and ending when he was put in possession of his land. After that, salaries and rations were phased out by lowering the rates to 116 pesos 3½ reales per year for the first two years, then 60 pesos per year for the next three years, after which all payments ceased. Thus, as Neve explained, it was very much to the advantage of the government to put settlers on the land immediately so as to end the payment of salaries and rations at the high enlistment rate and start them on the five-year period of decreasing reimbursements.<sup>64</sup>

The names of the individuals and families who, with Antonio Mesa, established the settlement of Los Angeles on the banks of the River Porciúncula cannot be identified with certainty. Probably the widow Nicolasa Ramírez and soldier Guillermo Soto were in the first group, because they were known to have presented themselves at San Gabriel Mission on July 21 and asked to be married. They were accompanied by soldiers Agustín Leyba and Victorino Felix who testified that they were free to marry.<sup>65</sup>

On July 14, 1781, Lieutenant Diego Gonzales and Ensigns José Arguello and Cayetano Limón arrived at San Gabriel in command of the second party to arrive. This was the group that had trekked overland by way of the Colorado River with Rivera. (Rivera himself had remained in the Colorado River settlements with some of his soldiers and was murdered a few weeks later.) On July 22, 1781, more of the Los Angeles settlers arrived at San Gabriel, perhaps escorted by Ensign Josef Velásquez, sent from Monterey by Neve in March to help escort the Zúñiga party north.<sup>66</sup>

Included in the July 22 group were José Lara and Luis



*Settlers met at Mission San Gabriel, established in 1771, before traveling the final three leagues to the Town of Our Lady of the Angels. Carleton Watkins photographed the mission bell tower in 1876.*





Quintero. Their exact arrival date in San Gabriel, like Antonio Mesa's, is established by the accounts prepared for them when they left the settlement of Los Angeles in March, 1782. For José Lara it was on "the 22nd of July 81 that he arrived at this destination." Similarly, for Luis Quintero it was "the 22nd of July of 81 that was his arrival date here."<sup>67</sup>

Did Lara and Quintero immediately move to the new townsite like the first families? The records are not clear. Palou implies that they did not, and their own accounts seem to support this interpretation.

A document prepared at Los Angeles on February 4, 1816, by Guillermo Soto offers evidence, however, that at least two other settlers received their allotments of planting fields in August, 1781, and had taken up residence at the new townsite. Titled "A list that shows the Settlers, Retired Soldiers, and Inhabitants with an Account of their entrance in this Pueblo," the document indicates that Manuel Camero and Basilio Rosas arrived in the new town in August, 1781, and received two *suertes* of land.<sup>68</sup>

In mid-August, the eighteenth to be exact, another party of straggling soldiers and settlers—the group led by Lieutenant Zúñiga—arrived at San Gabriel. Because some members of the party were still recovering from smallpox, Zúñiga had them temporarily quarantined a short distance away from the mission before sending them on to the site of the new town.<sup>69</sup>

A week or so later, Governor Neve, probably eager to make legal existing conditions, ordered that house lots in town and planting fields outside the town be marked off and distributed to the settlers. (San Gabriel Mission records noted that the town of Los Angeles "immediately adjoined" Yabit. But the area was not merely near Yabit; it was almost on top of it). Neve's original order is not extant, but copies and translations support the conclusion that settlers had been dispatched to build homes on the townsite even before Neve ordered the formal distribution of lots and fields.<sup>70</sup>

*Settlers had been dispatched to build homes on the townsite even before Neve ordered the formal distribution of lots and fields.*

While Lieutenant José Darío Arguello some years later claimed that he had been "commissioned in the year 81 by Don Felipe de Neve, then governor California, to found the town with the title Queen of the Angels, and he founded it,"<sup>71</sup> no contemporary record supporting his statement has yet come to light. Arguello also maintained that he served for several months in the Colorado River settlements, an unlikely possibility. These statements are from his *hoja de servicio* or service record which was prepared in 1790 and signed by Pedro Fages, who a year later made some fanciful claims in his own *hoja de servicio*.<sup>72</sup>

Most accounts of the founding of Los Angeles argue for the presence of a military escort—a corporal and three private soldiers—as well as claiming that a formal founding ceremony occurred. The only basis for this assertion, however, is a heavily condensed version of the founding contained in Father Palou's biography of Junípero Serra. Interestingly, the same historians who accept Palou's story as proof of a foundation ceremony complete with military escort entirely reject the rest of Palou's account. In fact, it is not entirely clear from the passage that Palou meant to imply anything of the sort. The brevity of his reference to a corporal and three soldiers may merely indicate that a military escort of this composition lived in the town after its establishment.<sup>73</sup>

While some small ceremony may have marked the birth of Los Angeles, no definite archival record of it appears to exist. Nor is there a document suggesting that Zúñiga's eleven settler families gathered to participate in



a formal distribution of land. In fact, the records seem to indicate that some settlers did not move to Los Angeles from San Gabriel for several weeks, while others moved to the land immediately after arriving.

Financial records drawn up by Zúñiga and his assistants at San Gabriel in September, 1781, supply the names of the residents in Los Angeles in that month. These records, the earliest original reports documenting the founding of the town, list six resident settlers and their families at Los Angeles at the date the statements of account were prepared: Basilio Rosas and family, Antonio Mesa and family, Antonio Villavicencio and family, José Banegas and family, Alejandro Rosas and wife, and Pablo Rodríguez and family. Each settler's account notes that "he is presently living as a citizen in the Town of the Queen of the Angels" (*queda avezindado en el Pueblo de la Reyna de los Angeles*).<sup>74</sup>

Probably at least one other individual was also in Los Angeles, though he was not counted as a citizen or a resident. José Lara, who had "fallen ill in the Town of the Queen of the Angels,"<sup>75</sup> has found he was not cut out to be a farmer and badly wanted to leave the town.

Whether other settlers had arrived at Los Angeles in September is not clear. Historian Henry Raup Wagner, who reviewed most of the accounts that read *queda avezindado*, believed that the phrase implied citizenship but not necessarily residence.<sup>76</sup> A letter written by Commandant General Croix to José de Gálvez, which cites a communication from Neve dated November 19, 1781, may confirm Wagner's interpretation. In the letter Croix said that Neve "formally certified the establishment of the town" on September 4, 1781, with a portion of the settlers recruited by Rivera. He went on to say that the town had twelve *vecinos*, with a total of forty-six persons in all.<sup>77</sup>

The Croix letter seems to quote the *padron del vecindario* submitted by Neve on November 19 and apparently now extant only in the summary prepared by the copyist employed by historian Bancroft and in an 1872 news-

paper reprint version. That summary stated that the town was founded on September 4, 1781, listed twelve householders, noted that one still remained in Loreto, and said that the lands and goods of the missing settler were being held for his arrival.<sup>78</sup> Thus, Croix counted one man as a resident who was still a thousand miles away from Los Angeles.

Regardless, all the settlers, except still-absent Miranda Rodríguez, seem to have been in Los Angeles by the end of October. A communication sent by Neve to Croix on October 29 stated that all eleven settlers and families were "in the process of founding the town" and had moved to the townsite, although only eight of the settlers were "useful." In this letter Neve spoke glowingly of the sturdy little huts the people were building for themselves, the irrigation ditch they had completed, and the fields they were planting.<sup>79</sup>

(The prospects of Los Angeles' survival did not look so good a year later when Neve readied to leave California to assume his promotion to inspector general of the Interior Provinces. On that occasion Neve warned the new governor, Pedro Fages, that these settlers needed firm supervision. The first wheat harvest had produced only two-thirds the amount expected, and the corn crop failed because the settlers neglected to irrigate the young plants.)<sup>80</sup>

The presence of the eleven settler families in Los Angeles was definitely confirmed by the *padron del vecindario* taken November 19, 1781. Another document drawn up by Lieutenant Ortega two weeks later stated that all eleven families were on the site and drawing pay and rations accordingly.<sup>81</sup>

And so, nearly two centuries ago and quite inauspiciously, began the new town of Los Angeles. Governor Neve had selected the site in the early spring of 1781—a beautiful spot beside the Porciúncula River already inhabited by Indians of the *ranchería* called Yabit.

The first small settler parties from Mexico arrived in June, July, and August of 1781, although it was September 4, 1781, before the governor formally established the town. Within a few weeks all eleven families had taken up residence, but three of them departed again the following March, apparently without having contributed much toward civic betterment.

Similarly, San Jose was settled by small parties before formal recognition was accorded the founding of the town. Settlers moved to the site in early November, 1777, though a formal founding event did not take place until November 29. Other settlers apparently wandered in weeks after the original group had arrived and after the "foundation" had been accomplished.<sup>82</sup>

It is noteworthy that the ramifications of the revised analysis concerning the events surrounding the establishment of Los Angeles include restoration of the reputation of the almost universally discredited first historian of Upper California, Francisco Palou. Palou's description of the founding of the town on the Rio Porciúncula, written soon after the events themselves, reads:

The [governor] gathered all the settlers that had come as colonists, assigned them building sites and fields on the banks of the River about four leagues northwest of San Gabriel Mission, and there escorted by a corporal and three soldiers, they founded their town in the last months of the year [*a últimos del año*] of 81 with the title Our Lady of the Angels of Porciúncula.<sup>83</sup>

Condensing several months activity by numbers of people into one sentence, that is just about the way it happened.

The founding ceremony plate illustrated an article by Helen Hunt Jackson in *Century Magazine*, December 1883, p. 195. The Ortega account is in the *Archivo General de la Nación* (Mexico City), *Provincias Internas*, tomo 198, folio 207. A microfilm copy of the Croix letter is at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The Watkins photo is from the CHS Library.

## Notes

1. J. J. Warner, Benjamin Hayes, J. P. Widney, *An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County, California* (Los Angeles, 1876), p. 11. See also Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols.; San Francisco, 1886-90); I:44; *An Illustrated History of Southern California* (Chicago, 1890), p. 730.  
Although the sources quoted in this article employ a number of variations in the name of Los Angeles, only one official name was given to the town when it was established, *Reyna de los Angeles*. See Theodore E. Treutlein, "Los Angeles, California: The Question of the City's Original Spanish Name," *Southern California Quarterly*, LV (Spring, 1973): 1-7.
2. Warner, *Historical Sketch of Los Angeles*, 11; *La Cronica* (Los Angeles), May 18, 1872, p. 2.
3. *Los Angeles City and County Directory* 1872, pp. 19-20.
4. Some historians, mostly Franciscan scholars, accept Palou's account. See Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (4 vols.; San Francisco, 1912), II:366-67. See also Maynard J. Geiger, *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M.; or, The Man who Never Turned Back (1713-1784)* (2 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1959), II:270-71; and Geiger (trans. & ed.), *Palou's Life of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington, D.C., 1955), pp. 218, 459, 115. For a Franciscan scholar who does not agree with Palou, see Antonine Tibesar (ed.) *Writings of Junípero Serra* (4 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1966), IV:404, 446, 1152.
5. Bancroft, *History of California*, I:345, 124.
6. See, for example, J. M. Guinn, *Historical and Biographical Record of Los Angeles and Vicinity* (Chicago, 1901), p. 34. See also *Illustrated History of Los Angeles*, 48. One of the most fanciful accounts was written by Helen Hunt Jackson, "Echoes in the City of the Angels," *Century Magazine*, XXVII (December, 1883): 194-210.
7. Temple, "Se Fundaron un Pueblo de Espanoles," *Historical Society of Southern California Annual Publications*, XV, part I (1931): 69-98 (hereafter *HSSC Annual*).
8. Neve reached San Gabriel on April 11, according to a letter from Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Francisco Pangua, April 16, 1781, in Finbar Kenneally (ed.), *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén* (2 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1965), I:79.
9. Juan Crespi, "Diario y Caminata que hizo esta dha Expedicion de este Puerto y Nueva Mision del Sr San Diego de Alcala, en 14 Julio 1769 hacia Monte Rey," *Coleccion de Documentos para Historia de Mexico, Primera Serie, Tomo 2, Misiones de Alta California*, fo. 65-66, *Archivo General de la Nacion*, Mexico City (hereafter, AGN). The name of the Indian town appears in numerous places in the San Gabriel baptismal register. In this article, quotations are spelled and accented as they appear in the original. Spanish names not in quotations are accented in their modern form.



10. Croix to Rivera, December 27, 1779, reprinted in HSSC *Annual*, XV, part I (1931); 192, 257. San Gabriel Mission, baptismal register, vol. I, entries 583-86, 588-606, 615, 634-35, 641-48, 712, 732-33; San Gabriel marriage register, entry 135; microfilm at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
11. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II:35off; Edwin A. Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve, First Governor of California* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1971), pp. 94-96; Bancroft, *History of California*, I:374-75, 379-81, 398-99; Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, IV:440-41, n81; Serra to Pangua, July 17, 1782, *ibid.*, pp. 153-55.
12. HSSC *Annual*, XV, part I (1931):248, 257.
13. Serra to Pangua, July 17, 1782, in Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, IV:153; Geiger, *Palou's Life of Serra*, 229, 231-33; Francisco Palou, *Relacion Historica de la Vida y Apostolicas Tareas del Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra* (Mexico: Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1787), Huntington Library, rare book 57251 (cited hereafter as *Vida*).
14. The financial records of the expedition were reconstructed from notes and memory at San Gabriel following the destruction of the original records in the massacre of Rivera, his soldiers, and the Spanish inhabitants of the new missions and settlements along the Colorado River. These records, cited in footnotes 15-33, 35-38 and 40-53, are in *Provincias Internas*, Tomos 198 and 199, AGN.
15. *Cuenta* 68, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 199, fo. 167-68.
16. *Cuenta* 69, Tomo 199, fo. 171-72.
17. *Cuenta* 70, Tomo 199, fo. 169-70.
18. *Cuenta* 71, Tomo 199, fo. 173-74.
19. *Cuenta* 72, Tomo 199, fo. 175-76. Their daughter, María Gerónima, was the first girl born after the settlers reached San Gabriel. See the San Gabriel baptismal register, vol. I, entry 749, October 3, 1781.
20. *Cuenta* 73, Tomo 199, fo. 177-78.
21. *Cuenta* 74, Tomo 199, fo. 179-80. Their son José Antonio was the first boy born after the settlers reached San Gabriel. See the San Gabriel baptismal register, vol. I, entry 793, November 18, 1781.
22. *Cuenta* 75, Tomo 199, fo. 181-82.
23. *Cuenta* 76, Tomo 199, fo. 183-84.
24. *Cuenta* 77, Tomo 199, fo. 185-86.
25. *Cuenta* 78, Tomo 199, fo. 187-88.
26. *Cuenta* 80, Tomo 199, fo. 189-90.
27. *Cuenta* 82, Tomo 198, fo. 170.
28. *Cuenta* 83, Tomo 198, fo. 165.
29. *Cuenta* 55, Tomo 199, fo. 28.
30. *Cuenta* 79, Tomo 199, fo. 34-35.
31. *Cuenta* 80, Tomo 199, fo. 189.
32. *Cuenta* 82, Tomo 198, fo. 170-172; San Diego Mission marriage register, entries 217 and 218, microfilm in the Huntington Library.
33. *Cuenta* 83, Tomo 199, fo. 165, AGN; San Gabriel marriage register, entry 139.
34. "Padron del Vecindario que Tiene el Pueblo de Sn. Joseph fundado el 29 de Noviembre de 1777," *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 121, fo. 19-20. Typed copy in the Huntington Library, MSS HM16781.
34. *Cuenta* 55, Tomo 199, fo. 28; Manuel Roiz, "Nota de los Soldados," July 15, 1780, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 198, fo. 102.
36. *Cuenta* 79, Tomo 199, fo. 34-35.
37. *Cuenta* 81, Tomo 198, fo. 171.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Neve to Croix, May 16, 1781, California Archives, Provincial Records, State Papers, C-A 22, Tomo II, 299, Bancroft Library (hereafter, CA).
40. *Cuenta* 23, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 199, fo. 117-18.
41. *Cuenta* 35, Tomo 199, fo. 47-48.
42. *Cuenta* 36, Tomo 199, fo. 137-38.
43. *Cuenta* 37, Tomo 199, fo. 139-40.
44. *Cuenta* 38, Tomo 199, fo. 141-42.
45. *Cuenta* 40, Tomo 199, fo. 143-44.
46. *Cuenta* 41, Tomo 199, fo. 145-46.
47. *Cuenta* 42, Tomo 199, fo. 147-48.
48. *Cuenta* 44, Tomo 199, fo. 149-50.
49. *Cuenta* 45, Tomo 199, fo. 41-43.
50. *Cuenta* 46, Tomo 199, fo. 151-52.
51. *Cuenta* 49, Tomo 199, fo. 157-58.
52. *Cuenta* 50, Tomo 199, fo. 159-60.
53. *Cuenta* 85, Tomo 199, fo. 62.
54. José de Zúñiga, September 30, 1781, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 198, fo. 171. In his report Zúñiga apparently counted only those individuals for whose pay and allowances he was responsible on that date. Thus, he omitted Antonio Miranda Rodríguez and his daughter, since they were the responsibility of officials at Loreto. The oldest daughter of Pedro Pablo Rodríguez was counted as a widow, since she was an unattached female with a dependent brother and sister, while Nicolasa Ramírez, a genuine widow, was not counted because her expenses were assumed by the soldier she married. María Pasquala Silva appeared as a widow for somewhat the same reason as the Rodríguez women. While confusing today, this enumeration proved equally confusing to the officers who had to reconstruct these records after the originals were destroyed in the Yuma massacre. Croix to Rivera, December 27, 1799, HSSC *Annual*, XV, part I (1931): 260; Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve*, 106-07. The *cuentas* or accounts of the various soldiers and settlers name these major stopping places.
55. See the *cuentas* of the members of the party, especially the following: *Provincias Internas*, *cuentas* no. 23, fo. 117-18; no. 35, fo. 47-48; no. 76, fo. 183-84; no. 78, fo. 187-88; and no. 80, fo. 189-90, AGN.
56. Luis Sales, *Noticias de la Provincia de Californias* (Valencia, 1794), Carta I: p. 94-95 (Copy in the Huntington Library, rare book 9292). Neve to Croix, May 16, 1781, C-A 22, Tomo II, 299 see note 39).

57. Neve to Croix, May 16, 1781, C-A 22, Tomo II, 299; "*Padron del vecindario, el qe. tiene el pueblo de la Reyna de los Angeles*," November 19, 1781, C-A 52, Tomo I, 102.
58. Lasuén to Pangua, April 16, 1781, in *Writings of Lasuén*, 79; Neve to Croix, May 16, 1781, C-A 22, Tomo II, 299.
59. Ortega, "*Relacion en que pa. maior se resumen las Cuentas de los tres abajo nominados Pobladores*," March 22, 1782, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 198, fo. 207, AGN. See also the San Gabriel marriage register, entry 140, which lists Mesa as one of the *testigos* for a young couple who appeared at San Gabriel Mission on August 8 to be married. I am indebted to William M. Mason for directing me to this entry.
60. Palou, *Noticias de la California* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1874), IV:237, Huntington Library, rare book 500. The location of Palóu's original manuscript is unknown. A copy prepared about 1790 is in AGN; a microfilm of this copy is in the Bancroft Library. Palóu had probably never seen any of the official documents founding the town and therefore assumed it was named as Crespi had written.
61. Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California* (Berkeley, 1926), I:1xx. Interestingly, Bolton translates a key phrase in Palóu's account, *unos quatro familias*, as "a few families." See vol. IV: 209.
62. Palou, "*Noticia succinta de las 9. Miss., i 3 Presids. de la Nueva California*," *Documentos para Historia de Mexico*, Ser. II, Tomo XV, fo. 261-62, AGN. Father Serra thought the phrase *gente de razón* or people of reason ridiculous, complaining that the soldiers and settlers used the phrase "just as if the Indians did not have the use of reason too." Serra to Pangua, December 8, 1782, in Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, IV:169.
63. Palou, "*Remarks on a New Custody in California*," in Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, IV:404.
64. Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve*, 88; HSSC *Annual*, XV, part I (1931): 181, 249.
65. San Gabriel marriage register, entry 139.
66. Neve to Croix, July 14, 1781, C-A 22, Tomo II, 304-05; Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, II:142, Bancroft Library, cited in Temple, HSSC *Annual*, XV, part I (1931):84.
67. Ortega, "*Relacion . . . de los tres . . . Pobladores*," March 22, 1782, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 198, fo. 207, AGN.
68. I am indebted to William M. Mason for directing me to this document, a copy of which is at the Huntington Library, FAC 667 (603). The original is in the De la Guerra Collection of the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.
69. Neve to Croix, October 29, 1781, C-A 22, Tomo II, 306-07. Another document indicates that at least part of the group may have arrived August 16. See the *cuenta* of José Antonio Cortés, November 18, 1781, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 198, fo. 363, AGN.
70. Bancroft, *History of California*, I:344-45 notes. San Gabriel baptismal register, entry 969, describes Yabit as "*inmediata al Pueblo*."
71. Quoted in Martin de Landaeta, *Noticias acerca del Puerto de San Francisco (Alta California)*, notes by Jose C. Valades (Mexico, 1949), p. 23, n17.
72. Fages' service record appears in *Californias*, Tomo XLVI, fo. 192, AGN, accompanied by a signed resumé by Fages dated February 4, 1792.
73. Palou, *Vida*, 243. Most historians accept the account of the founding of the city given by Thomas Workman Temple II in HSSC *Annual*, XV, part I (1931):90, 96-98.
74. *Cuentas* no. 70, fo. 169-71, no. 71, fo. 173-74, no. 72, fo. 175-76, no. 73, fo. 177-78, no. 74, fo. 179-80, no. 75, fo. 181-82, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo, 199, AGN.
75. *Cuenta* 68, Tomo 199, fo. 167-68.
76. Wagner, *The Earliest Documents of El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1931), pp. 3-4.
77. Croix to Gálvez, February 28, 1782, *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, legajo 103-4-9, *Archivo General de Indias*, microfilm Roll IV, reel 899, Bancroft Library. The letter is number 4518 in Charles E. Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias* (Berkeley, 1919), p. 551.
78. C-A 52, Tomo I, fo. 101-02. J. J. Warner's slightly variant copy of this document is reprinted in *La Cronica* (Los Angeles), May 18, 1872, p. 2. I am indebted to Donald Chaput for calling my attention to this newspaper article.
79. C-A 22, Tomo II, fo. 306-07.
80. Neve to Fages, "*Ynstruccion reservada que dejó el Brigadier Don Felipe Neve a su subseor en el Gobierno de Californias Dn Pedro de Fages*," September 7, 1782; a copy prepared in 1792 is in the Bancroft Library. A somewhat misleading translation of the section in question appears in Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve*, 165.
81. José Francisco de Ortega, "*Extracto de la Revista*," C-A 52, Tomo I, fo. 104-05.
82. Bancroft, *History of California*, I:312, 348-49; Palou, *Vida*, 225; Palou, *Noticias*, IV:204.
83. Palou, *Vida*, p. 243. Maynard Geiger offers a concise and reasoned explanation of the meaning of the phrase "*a ultimos del año*" in Palou's *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 459, n15.



Twelve-term Congressman Julius Kahn ranks as one of the most prominent national legislators in California's history. Well-liked and respected by his colleagues, undefeatably popular with his San Francisco constituents, and an orator of inimitable style, Kahn served in the House of Representatives for more than two decades after abandoning a successful dramatic acting career at age thirty. On most issues a partisan Republican, Kahn gained national prestige as author of the first Selective Service Act and as chief supporter of Democratic President Wilson's war policies. It is unlikely that a man of lesser integrity, political skill, personality, and sensitivity to his constituency could have walked the same political path.

Born to Jewish parents in 1861, Kahn emigrated with his mother to the United States from Baden, Germany, when he was seven. They joined Julius' father, a farmer, who had settled in Calaveras County, California, in 1865. The family moved several times and finally settled in San Francisco where they ran a bakery and restaurant while Julius attended high school. One of Kahn's teachers was Mary Prag, the city's first Jewish school teacher—and mother of Florence Prag who became Julius' wife in 1899. Throughout his boyhood, Kahn rose early each morning to make deliveries with his father's bread wagon, and he frequently appeared in Mrs. Prag's classes drowsy from lack of sleep.<sup>1</sup>

Striking out on his own at the age of sixteen, Kahn began a business career as a clerk in a commission house, but two years later he quit—to go upon the stage. He traveled extensively throughout the country, playing supporting roles with such famous actors as Edwin Booth, Joseph Jefferson, Clara Morris, and Tomasso Salvini.<sup>2</sup> Kahn's theatrical career took him to many cities, but it was his trips to Washington, D.C., which impressed him most. While in the nation's capital he became friendly with members of Congress, in part

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# Kahn

through his visits with the sergeant-at-arms of the House, who introduced him to many congressmen.<sup>3</sup>

Nearly thirty years old, Kahn left the stage in 1890 and took up the study of law. Asked years later why he abandoned a successful theatrical career to enter the field of law, Kahn replied that in theater, "the older you grow and the more experience you acquire, . . . you are commensurately less useful. In the legal profession as you grow older and acquire experience, the more valuable your legal services become."<sup>4</sup> The stage left its marks on him, however, and throughout his long years in Congress, a long flowing necktie and a studied and effective elocution recalled his first career in the theater.

While still a student of the law, Kahn was elected to the state assembly in 1892. He was the only Republican chosen from San Francisco out of twenty-three candidates nominated to serve in the state legislature. After one term, however, he declined nomination for the state senate, preferring, he said, to continue his law practice. He enjoyed his single term in the assembly, however, and often boasted that he was one of very few legislators to escape attack of any kind by a California newspaper.<sup>5</sup>

Declining public office for several years, Kahn played prominent roles in civic and promotional activities, such as the Midwinter Fair, until in 1898 he was nominated and elected to the United States Congress from California's Fourth District, the eastern third of present-day San Francisco. (Kahn resided at 2712 Webster Street throughout his entire congressional career.) Re-elected in 1900, he was defeated for re-election in 1902, then re-elected in 1904 and continuously until his death in 1924. Kahn served twelve terms in all, a longer period

# of California

than any other representative from the Pacific Coast states until that time. So popular was he that during his last five terms in Congress, he had little or no opposition and received the endorsement of all the major political parties in California.

Throughout his entire career, Kahn received the backing and support of his good friend, Jacob Voorsanger, rabbi of Temple Emanu-El and publisher of its newspaper. When Kahn ran his first congressional race, Rabbi Voorsanger called attention to Kahn's record in the California legislature and described his parliamentary and forensic ability, his integrity, and his record. "We are proud," concluded the rabbi, "of his record. Julius Kahn in Congress will be the first Hebrew elected from the west of the Rocky Mountains, and . . . he will be a most worthy and able representative of the people of California."<sup>6</sup>

**R**epresentative Kahn's first congressional stand eliciting national attention was prompted in 1902 by House debates on the question of providing administration for the civil affairs of the Philippine Islands. The freshman congressman, who had visited the islands the year previously, presented his views on the strategic value of the islands to the United States and eloquently persuaded Congress that the islands would as yet be "more than content to be under the American flag."<sup>7</sup>

During the debates Kahn also gained acquaintance with William Howard Taft, then governor of the islands, and when Taft ran for president in 1908, Kahn earnestly supported him against William Jennings Bryan. Elated

by Taft's victory, Kahn boasted that San Francisco had given the Republican victor a 12,000-vote majority and the state of California more than 75,000 votes. "It was a glorious victory," wrote Kahn to Taft.<sup>8</sup>

Throughout Taft's administration (1908-1913), Kahn displayed an exceptional ability to secure legislation favorable to San Francisco and the State of California. Two notable successes involved securing San Francisco as the site of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition to be held in 1915 and preventing the closing of the San Francisco Mint. Both of these issues related to completion of the Panama Canal, the sensitive issue that demanded much of Kahn's attention through Taft's presidency well and into Wilson's administration.

In April, 1904, a group of San Francisco civic leaders had formed the Merchants Association and drafted a resolution urging that the completion of the Panama Canal within the next decade be celebrated by a "Pacific Ocean Exposition" at San Francisco. The association had wired their new congressman, Kahn, a request to introduce a bill appropriating \$5 million for an exposition in their city.<sup>9</sup> When on April 18, 1906, the disastrous earthquake and fire struck San Francisco, however, records were destroyed and existing arrangements disarrayed, and there seemed no time for celebrating the completion of the Panama Canal.

Kahn, however, did not abandon the idea of holding an exposition. Just one month after the earthquake, Kahn introduced a joint resolution requesting the nations of the world to participate in an exposition at San Francisco in 1915 to commemorate the discovery of the Pacific and the opening of the canal. The event was to



take place whenever the president was satisfied that there was \$5 million worth of subscriptions to finance such a celebration.

When New Orleans began to vie with San Francisco for the exposition, Kahn simply worked harder on behalf of San Francisco. In a stirring House speech, which was repeatedly interrupted by loud applause, Kahn described the valiant efforts his city had made to rebuild itself after the devastating disaster four years earlier. He further predicted that San Francisco would raise the money needed to hold the exposition and concluded with a stirring plea for support.<sup>10</sup>

Kahn's background of studied elocution and oratory must have served him well in that speech, because eventually the decision was made to hold the exposition in San Francisco. The *San Francisco Call*, on February 2, 1911, credited Kahn's efforts in making that possible: "Representative Kahn deserves well of his constituency and all his townsmen. On him fell the burden and his was the heat of the day in the fight before Congress for the World's Fair. . . . It is justice to say that to Mr. Kahn more than any other single influence is due the success of San Francisco in the winning fight before the House of Representatives. . . ."<sup>11</sup>

Always attentive to the needs of his constituents, Kahn soon again took to the House floor on San Francisco's behalf. In 1912 the closing of the mint at San Francisco was imminent, and in a House speech Kahn eloquently reminded his colleagues that the mint at San Francisco had furnished practically all of the coin used by the people of the Pacific Coast. It was a self-supporting operation, he continued, which cost the American government nothing to maintain. Predicting that with the completion of the Panama Canal the amounts of foreign bullion and coin arriving at San Francisco would increase considerably, Kahn questioned the rationale for the Treasury Department to close the mint. Emphasizing that the cost of transporting bullion to Denver would be prohibitive, Kahn argued persuasively for the

need for mints in both cities.<sup>12</sup> That the San Francisco mint did indeed remain open was, in part, thanks to the efforts of Julius Kahn.

**P**rominent and vigilant on matters of local interest, Kahn also involved himself with issues of national concern. In 1911 Congress debated the question of requiring candidates for national office to publicize their campaign contributions and expenditures. Kahn favored this publicizing, but he felt that the measure did not go far enough. Instead, he advocated extension of the proposal with a clause which would compel the filing of accounts in all primaries as well as in the general election. Many Democrats opposed the measure because they were engaged in more primary elections than Republicans. Kahn's partisan rhetoric won out, however, and the primaries clause was inserted in the final bill. Kahn is credited for being the first member of Congress to direct attention to the necessity of extending provisions of the law compelling publication of all campaign expenses, regardless of the nature of the elections.<sup>13</sup>

At one with the Taft administration, prior to World War I Kahn frequently found himself in opposition to President Wilson's administration, and the question of shipping tolls for the Panama Canal was no exception. When the canal first opened in 1914, Congress had enacted a law providing free tolls for American ships, a clause Kahn favored with an eye to its importance for California's shipping interests. When Wilson became president, however, he and his advisers in the State Department advocated the repeal of these free tolls, a measure which Kahn opposed as vigorously as he had supported the original proposal of free tolls. If Wilson's policies were followed, Kahn predicted, America would become a simple caretaker government, a mere guardian of the canal. Kahn further argued that the United States was being asked to buy England's friend-

ship so that England would support America in its foreign policy.<sup>14</sup> In his final plea on the Panama tolls question, Kahn reflected, "Friendship thus bought is never worth the cost, for it is never lasting. . . . The real effect of this policy will arise in additional demands. There shall be no fortification of the canal will be the next command."<sup>15</sup> In the end, a disappointed Kahn was unsuccessful in preventing Congress from following Wilson's lead on this issue.

Kahn was even more critical of the president's handling of problems in Mexico. Prior to 1910, Mexico had been ruled by an able but iron-handed dictator, Porfirio Díaz, who enjoyed the backing of the church, the army, and most large landholders. During that period American (including Californian) investments in Mexico amounted to about a billion dollars, with England controlling the bulk of European investments. In 1910 Francisco Madero, supported by the peasantry and a small group of middle-class merchants, broke Díaz's power and became president. Three years later, however, a counter-revolution brought Victoriano Huerta to the presidency. Henry Lane Wilson, American ambassador to Mexico, urged President Taft to recognize the Huerta government, as the major European powers had already done. Taft, however, refused to act during his last few weeks in office and turned the entire problem over to his successor, Woodrow Wilson.

Precedents existed for the United States to recognize the Huerta regime. In the past it had given recognition to many governments irrespective of how they had come to power. In addition, the Huerta government seemed capable of restoring order and thus protecting American lives and property. Deeply concerned that the matter not become a political issue, Kahn urged the Wilson administration to formulate the awaited American policy quickly and advocated a concert of American governments—including the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile—to bring about a settlement of the Mexican problem.<sup>16</sup>



*Julius Kahn of San Francisco, actor turned congressman and defender of military preparedness*



But Woodrow Wilson soon made it evident that he was utterly opposed to Huerta and his despotic ways. Shocked by the violent manner in which Huerta had come to power, Wilson felt he was an enemy of the Mexican people. On March 11, 1913, in Mobile, Alabama, Wilson publicly stated that he had no sympathy with Huerta or his regime, called for an armistice among all warring factions in Mexico, and advocated a free election in which all candidates, except Huerta, should enter. The winner of the election would be declared president and accorded recognition by Wilson.

When this plan failed, Wilson announced that the United States policy towards Mexico would be one of "watchful waiting," a policy which was criticized both at home and abroad for its refusal to recognize Huerta. Convinced that Huerta could not be replaced without armed intervention by the United States, Wilson secured from Congress permission to send troops to Mexico. Congress acquiesced only after an incident arose over the arrest of a group of American sailors at Tampico.

An irate Kahn criticized Wilson and accused the president of meddling in the internal affairs of a nation. He argued that the United States had no right to interfere and opposed armed intervention. He termed Wilson's policy "deadly drifting" and stated, "I do not want to see armed intervention. We have intervened politically already, and in my humble judgment it was a mistake to have done so. It is going to prove most expensive."<sup>17</sup> Kahn once more called for the ABC nations of South America to bring order in Mexico.

As war loomed in Europe, Wilson changed tactics and gratefully accepted the mediation offer of the three South American nations as a means of gaining time and forestalling the insistent demands of some Americans for a war with Mexico. In the summer of 1914 Huerta was finally forced from office, and the following month the favorite candidate of the United States, Venustiano Carranza, took over the presidency.

On domestic as well as foreign policy Kahn frequently took stands of partisan loyalty against Wilson and his administration. When the president proposed the creation of a series of sectional banks held together only by a Federal Reserve Board, the bankers of the country expressed extreme suspicion, and the fact that Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan openly supported the measure aroused even more fears.

The act, known as the Glass-Owen Federal Reserve Act, was opposed by Kahn for just that reason. In a House speech he warned his colleagues: "I am doubtful of the success of the bill . . . for it has the unqualified approval of our good friend, the Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan. I have learned by past experiences that whenever Mr. Bryan puts his stamp on our proposed legislation, you want to scrutinize it with more than ordinary care." Despite these objections, the act passed and was signed by President Wilson. Reflecting his economic concern, Kahn commented upon its passage: "There are grave dangers from inflation under this bill, and inflation means ruin."<sup>18</sup>

**K**ahn's positions on issues usually reflected the interests of California and his party, but throughout his career where military preparedness was concerned he voted his personal convictions. Kahn served for most of his congressional career on the Military Affairs Committee, eventually becoming its ranking member, and, when his party controlled the House, its chairman. In this capacity he helped found the National Defense League in 1913. The league was created to conduct a nation-wide campaign to further its objectives: enlarging the navy, making adequate the army, improving the national guard, and generally preparing the United States for national defense.<sup>19</sup> The league successfully inserted in the 1914 army appropriations bill a clause—which was first introduced in the House as a separate bill



*Kahn won the Panama-Pacific Exposition for San Francisco. Witnessing President Taft's signing of the resolution in 1911 naming San Francisco over New Orleans as the site of the fair were (left to right): Kahn, Joseph R. Knowland, Senator Frank P. Flint, Senator George C. Perkins, and other luminaries.*



by Julius Kahn—permitting the War Department to distribute free of cost to civilian rifle clubs and schools 313,000 Krag-Jorgensen rifles and ammunition. The National Association for the Promotion of Rifle Practice had lobbied for this legislation for years, and as a result of Kahn's efforts any ten civilians could organize a rifle club and secure free rifles and ammunition from the government for target practice.<sup>20</sup>

Convinced that the country was unprepared for an emergency, Kahn labored against heavy opposition to impress the Military Affairs Committee with the needs of planning for the emergency which might arise. "The present European War," he told the House, "ought to prove a lesson to the people of the United States. It is an apt illustration of the suddenness with which war comes. It should teach us that we must be prepared for any and every possible emergency."<sup>21</sup>

When Congress debated the issue of national defense, Kahn spoke out once more for preparedness, calling the declaration of war in Europe a "thunderbolt out of a clear sky." Although he did not foresee American involvement in the World War, he recalled a discussion in his committee over the question of preparedness in which one member stated that should any nation invade America, the country would "sweep them into the Pacific with a broom." Kahn remarked, "Well, we will find out that any nation that picks a quarrel with us and goes to war with us will not be fighting us with brooms. We will have to meet them with the same kind of weapons that they have, and if possible, better ones."<sup>22</sup>

Several months later, in March, 1916, Kahn made a stirring speech in the House urging the country to expand its defenses. He called for an increase in the army to 220,000 men and brought into the House chamber British recruiting posters to illustrate the difficulty of obtaining men for the army. Kahn predicted to his colleagues that the United States, like England, would have to resort to conscription in the event of war. "No nation," warned Kahn, "is the sole arbiter of its own

destiny. We may not want to fight, we may utterly oppose a war, but if some nation should feel that the nation's honor could only be assuaged by a resort to the use of arms, we would have to defend ourselves. In order to defend ourselves, we must in time of peace prepare against war."<sup>23</sup> Largely as a result of Kahn's efforts, early in June, 1916, Congress passed the National Defense Act authorizing the increase of the standing army to 175,000 and the national guard to 450,000.<sup>24</sup>

In one of those ironic twists of political fate, the two men who had fought on opposite sides of many partisan issues now found themselves on the same side. While Kahn had been fighting the battle for American preparedness, President Wilson had remained silent. Then, after Germany continued her policy of unlimited submarine warfare and Colonel House, Wilson's unofficial ambassador, again failed in a peace mission in Europe, Wilson moved to demand military preparedness, even though pacifist protests had swept much of the nation. He toured the nation to speak for preparedness, and on Flag Day, June 14, 1916, led a preparedness parade down Pennsylvania Avenue.

Less than a year later the United States plunged into war. For the first time in the nation's history, American soldiers crossed the ocean to fight in an international struggle, and Kahn became even more deeply concerned about the lack of training and experience of America's fighting forces. Believing that all men should receive one year's training prior to going to Europe, he bemoaned to his fellow House members, "It would be butchery to send untrained men abroad. It would be impossible to find enough officers to train American soldiers in the details of modern trench warfare. This country is unprepared for a great emergency."<sup>25</sup>

To meet the emergency and crisis facing America, Kahn began advocating conscription. In the beginning he faced seemingly insurmountable opposition. Some of the more radical southern congressmen professed to oppose conscription because of its encroachment upon

*Kahn's House colleagues did not fail to note the irony of a Republican leading the Democratic administration's fight for a measure that the president's own party opposed.*

white supremacy in the South; many expressed fear that large numbers of Black soldiers trained in the handling of firearms would return to the South at the conclusion of the war and cause trouble. Kahn retorted that the black soldiers would be taught obedience and respect for the law and would not be a disturbing force after their return.<sup>26</sup>

Throughout 1917 Kahn met often with Secretary of War Newton D. Baker concerning a conscription act. He busily anticipated the arguments the administration might use in advancing its cause and fortified himself with data concerning England's unfortunate experiment with the volunteer system. In an unusually well-attended House session in April, 1917, Kahn called a volunteer army unjust and undemocratic because it "permits the shirker to remain at home" while the volunteer sacrifices his life. He also praised obligatory universal service for forcing citizens to bear equal burdens. "It is the duty of the individual in a republic like ours," he concluded, "to respond to the colors whenever the nation decrees that he is needed."<sup>27</sup>

Kahn's efforts in behalf of the selective service system received much national coverage. Kahn's House colleagues did not fail to note the irony of a Republican leading the administration's fight for a measure that the president's own party opposed. (Wilson had been forced to turn to Kahn when the Speaker of the House, floor leader, and chairman of the Military Affairs Committee refused to support him.) The *New York Times*, however, noted that at last the nation had been treated to real

leadership in Congress and labeled Kahn's leadership the "old-fashioned kind": clean, workmanlike, and without loose strings. It assessed Kahn's efforts as well-executed and carried through with force and skill by a leader who spoke and acted with conviction and determination.<sup>28</sup>

In May, 1917, the Selective Service Act, known informally as "the Kahn amendment," was finally passed. It required all men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty to register for military services. Registrants were divided into five classes by local civilian boards, and those placed in Class One—able-bodied, unmarried men without dependents—would be the first to be drafted.<sup>29</sup>

The Selective Service Act became the outstanding piece of legislation with which Kahn's name was identified. *Outlook* magazine's editorial tribute to Kahn concluded: "The passage of the Selective Service Act marks a turning point in the military history of this country, and its power in bringing in military service under a practical and just system cannot be exaggerated."<sup>30</sup> One of Kahn's House colleagues summarized the California legislator's efforts in the passage of the act: "The Selective Draft Act was more the work of Julius Kahn than of any other man. . . . At each reverse Julius Kahn struck back stronger and with more convincing proof . . . and thus the national policy would be shaped."<sup>31</sup>

Even after the Selective Service Act had been passed, Kahn continued to press for strong prosecution of the war and the assurance that every physically capable American should perform military service. In a letter to Lt. General S.B.M. Young (Ret.), president of the National Association for Universal Military Training, Kahn urged a bill for universal military training as a natural corollary to the selective draft legislation. "It is most appalling," wrote Kahn, "that sixty percent of our boys are physically unfit for military service. Universal training would materially remedy this condition. Under such a system our boys would be taught hygiene and



sanitation, among other things. The system would develop a more robust, a more physically fit body of citizens."<sup>32</sup>

As the war continued, Kahn came to attack vigorously dissenters and opponents of the war. Speaking at Columbia University, Kahn urged that fomenters of disloyalty be "taken before a court martial under military law and if convicted, punished in the way his crime implies."<sup>33</sup> In another letter to General Young, he continued: "Those who are not with us in this conflict are against us. They should be deterred from their treasonable course. This is no time to listen to the vaporings of pusillanimous pacifists or disloyal pro-Germans."<sup>34</sup>

Soon after the Allied victory in November, 1918, Kahn announced his support of a luxury tax as a means of paying for the war. Kahn told the House: "Our people must not imagine that the war is quite over until its cost has been figured out. It will take the sustained patriotism of us all to bear cheerfully the burden of war taxation."<sup>35</sup>

Kahn made it clear, however, that he preferred the luxury tax on items including liquor rather than federal prohibition, a measure also being debated at the conclusion of the war. Prohibition laws, Kahn believed, created sneaks, liars, and hypocrites. "Personally," he wrote, "I believe in temperance. . . . I am absolutely opposed to the Volstead Act. . . . It will lead to contempt for all laws."<sup>36</sup>

**I**n the spring of 1919 Kahn scheduled a visit to Europe at the invitation of General Pershing to study military conditions and interview military men with a view to the formulation of new military policy in Congress. Before his departure a leading opponent of the Jewish state in Palestine, Rabbi Henry Berkowitz of Philadelphia, sent Kahn a petition opposing Zionism signed by over 150 prominent American Jews.<sup>37</sup> Berko-

*"The American people cannot undertake the chaperonage of the world's bad disposition."*

witz requested that the congressman present it to President Wilson at Versailles. Kahn, who also believed that the mission of the Jewish people was religious rather than political, wired the rabbi that he had received the communique but that his priorities were "to observe conditions in military matters in anticipation of preparing myself for the work in the coming session of Congress."<sup>38</sup>

To Kahn's regret, in the spring of 1919—a time of crucial peace negotiations—he once again found himself at odds with President Wilson who favored an independent Jewish state. In an interview with the *New York Times*, he pointedly remarked, "My principal objection to it is . . . the fact that non-Jews will begin to look upon the American Jew as having a lurking desire always to return to the so-called Jewish homeland—that the Jews will be accused by the non-Jew of being merely a sojourner in the United States."<sup>39</sup>

Spending most of the summer of 1919 in Europe, Kahn became convinced that the conference would not be able to bring lasting peace. As a result, he urged America to retain a military machine to protect her interests. "I do not wish to say anything to hamper the president in his work," commented Kahn, "but I believe the American people cannot undertake the chaperonage of the world's bad disposition. We are getting into deep water by attempting it." Skeptical about the workings of the League of Nations, he stated that "if it works out to letting us watch our hemisphere, it may be all right, but the Americans will never ratify any pact under which we are bound to ship soldiers to Europe to settle the little or big wars which will come. This is idealism rampant."<sup>40</sup>

When Wilson advocated that England and the United States pledge themselves to aid France in the event of German attack, Kahn remarked pointedly: "If the League of Nations is to preserve the peace of the world, why the necessity for additional alliances with France and England?"<sup>41</sup>

Upon his return to the United States, Kahn continued his fight for universal military training. Appalled to find so many opponents of his plan in Congress, he ventured that had there been universal military training in America, there might not have been a world war in 1914. Although religious organizations, portions of the labor movement, and rural America opposed such training, Kahn nevertheless concluded, "I feel that if we adopt such a plan I predict that we shall have less danger of war than if we had a League of Nations."<sup>42</sup> Ultimately unsuccessful in his efforts to secure universal military training, Kahn, however, was associated with the development of the National Defense Act of 1920, which reorganized the entire military establishment and gave greater flexibility to the organization of the army.<sup>43</sup>

As the 1920 presidential election neared, Kahn announced that he would actively campaign for the Harding-Coolidge ticket against the pro-League Democratic slate. Able to invest his time because he was unopposed in his own congressional race, he confidently predicted that California would carry a majority of over 200,000 votes for the Republicans. Throughout the campaign Kahn stressed that "the businessman and the working men of California" did not want the League of Nations or its representative, the Democratic nominee.<sup>44</sup>

Representing a district in California, Kahn naturally became involved in the question of Oriental immigration and naturalization. As early as 1907, Kahn had written an article dealing with the Japanese question from the standpoint of California. With the racism common to the day he concluded that it was unanimous sentiment in California not to naturalize the Japanese.

"The oath of naturalization to the Japanese," claimed Kahn, "would be but a hollow mockery, an empty formality signifying nothing. We do not want that kind of citizenship, and we do not intend to have it, if we can prevent it."<sup>45</sup>

When the Oriental question arose again in Congress in 1920, Kahn spoke out once more in opposition to Japanese immigration and naturalization. He told the House that "many public officials in Japan, as well as political agitators here have tried to make the world believe that opposition to the immigration of Japanese laborers was based upon racial prejudices. We of the Pacific Coast deny that this is the case. . . . The sole objection is to the laboring class."<sup>46</sup>

Kahn's final congressional effort concerned the question of Muscle Shoals. During the war the government had constructed two nitrate plants for the manufacture of explosives at Muscle Shoals, Alabama; it had also begun the construction of dams to provide them with power. After the war the nitrate factories were no longer used, and the uncompleted power plants were being operated by the Army Corps of Engineers to generate power for sale to local corporations. President Harding proposed to transfer the entire enterprise, both the nitrate and power plants, to private operators on very favorable terms. In July, 1921, Henry Ford proposed to take over the projects and submitted a bid to this effect.

Kahn favored a proposal that Congress create a "Muscle Shoals Commission to adjust the legal difficulties involved in disposition of the government's war-built properties. Here he clashed with George Norris, a fellow but progressive Republican, who favored a government-owned and government-controlled corporation taking over the entire project. Displaying his philosophical opposition to big government, Kahn objected, "I for one am strongly against the Government operating any project that can be run by private enterprises."<sup>47</sup>



# SAN FRANCISCO'S PREPAREDNESS PARADE SATURDAY JULY 22

"SPIRIT OF 1916"



ROOM  
418

CITIZENS HEADQUARTERS 742 MARKET ST.

PHONE  
SUTTER 6152

*A pre-War poster promoted the "Spirit of 1916," preparedness for military action.*

In retrospect, Julius Kahn was a politically astute, partisan Republican who supported his party's stand in Congress, with a few notable exceptions, and the Republican presidents under whom he served—Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Warren Harding, and Calvin Coolidge. His position on publicizing campaign contributions and expenditures and his advocacy of free tolls in Panama and civil relations with Mexico reflect party loyalty as well as personal commitments. On matters directly affecting California and the city of San Francisco—the international exposition, retaining the San Francisco mint, opposing Japanese immigration, and continuing healthy trade through a tollless Panama Canal—Kahn voted the wishes of his constituents.

Two outstanding exceptions to Kahn's party and local loyalty emerged in his congressional career. When Congress passed laws requiring literacy tests of emigrants, laws designed to restrict immigration from southern and eastern Europe, the entire California delegation with the exception of Kahn voted for the bills and to override Wilson's vetoes. Because many of the immigrants affected were Russian and eastern European Jews, Kahn voted with the other Jews in Congress against these bills and to sustain Wilson's vetoes.

Kahn's second and most notable break with party loyalty surfaced around the issues of armament and the draft. Kahn would never have sponsored the proposals of a Democratic president, but so strongly did he favor

military preparedness before, during, and after World War I, that he led the fight for a president who had been deserted by his own legislative leaders.

After twenty-four years on Capitol Hill, Kahn fell ill in December, 1922, and early in 1923 he returned to California to rest. On December 19, 1924, after an extended illness, Julius Kahn died of a cerebral hemorrhage. He was survived by his widow Florence and two sons. Warm tributes from President Coolidge, lifelong friend and Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, and legislative colleagues praised Kahn's devotion and services to his country, particularly during the war.<sup>48</sup>

Photographs from the collection of the CHS Library.

## Notes

1. *San Francisco Call & Post*, December 18, 1924, p. 2.
2. Brief biographical sketches of Kahn appear in Leigh H. Irvine, *History of the New California* (New York, 1905), 373-375; *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, 288; *National Cyclopedic*, XXII: 40.
3. *Emanu El*, January 12, 1900, IX, #9, p. 6.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, September 9, 1898, VI, #17, p. 5.
7. Harr Wagner, *Notable Speeches by Notable Speakers of the Greater West* (San Francisco, 1902), 408.
8. Kahn to Taft, November 5, 1908, William H. Taft Papers, Library of Congress.
9. Frank M. Todd, *The Story of the Exposition* (New York & London: Knickerbocker Press, 1921), p. 39.
10. *Congressional Record*, April 18, 1910, 61 Congress, 2 Session, 4926.
11. *San Francisco, Its Builders Past and Present* (1913), p. 8.
12. *Congressional Record*, May 9, 1912, 62 Congress, 2 Session, 6171-72.
13. *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, December 19, 1924, p. 33; *Congressional Record*, April 14, 1911, 62 Congress, 1 Session, 252.
14. *Congressional Record*, March 17, 1914, 63 Congress, 2 Session, 5012-15.
15. *New York Times*, March 18, 1914, p. 6.
16. *Ibid.*, February 27, 1914, p. 1.
17. *Ibid.*, September 14, 1913, II, p. 8; December 23, 1913, p. 2.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Manual & Review of National Defense League* (1917), p. 6.
20. *Ibid.*, 8; *New York Times*, January 12, 1914, p. 6.
21. *National Defense League Manual*, 8.
22. *Congressional Record*, January 24, 1915, 63 Congress, 3 Session, 2077.
23. *New York Times*, March 19, 1916, I, p. 1; *Congressional Record*, March 18, 1916, 64 Congress, 1 Session, 4404.
24. John D. Hicks, and George E. Mowry, *A Short History of American Democracy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1956), p. 643.
25. *New York Times*, April 5, 1917, p. 4.
26. *Ibid.*, April 7, 1917, p. 5.
27. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1917, p. 2.
28. *New York Times*, April 30, 1917, p. 2.
29. Hicks and Mowry, *Short History*, 651.
30. *Outlook*, December 31, 1924, p. 708.
31. Harry Schneiderman, ed., "Julius Kahn," *American Jewish Yearbook*, 27:240, 1925.
32. Kahn to Young, November 17, 1917, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Truman Library.
33. *New York Times*, December 30, 1917, p. 4.
34. Kahn to Young, November 17, 1917.
35. *New York Times*, January 22, 1919, p. 5.
36. *Literary Digest*, November 4, 1922, p. 9.
37. Rabbi Henry Berkowitz to Julius Kahn, February 28, 1919, Henry Berkowitz Papers, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.
38. Kahn to Berkowitz, March 8, 1919.
39. *New York Times*, February 6, 1919, p. 24.
40. *Ibid.*, April 6, 1919, p. 1.
41. *Ibid.*, June 10, 1919, p. 20.
42. *Ibid.*, February 8, 1920, p. 14.
43. *Congressional Record*, March 9, 1920, 66 Congress, 2 Session, 4098-99.
44. *New York Times*, September 27, 1920, p. 2.
45. Julius Kahn, "The Japanese Question From A Californian Standpoint," *Independent*, January 3, 1907, pp. 32-33.
46. *New York Times*, December 10, 1920, p. 17; *Congressional Record*, December 9, 1920, 66 Congress, 3 Session, pp. 123-127.
47. *New York Times*, March 12, 1922, p. 22.
48. *New York Times*, December 20, 1924, p. 15; Herbert Hoover to Mrs. Julius Kahn, December 19, 1924, Herbert Hoover Papers, Hoover Library, West Branch, Iowa; Carl Vinson to Author, October 11, 1972.

Shortly after Kahn's death, the Republican party urged Mrs. Kahn to seek her late husband's congressional seat. She was elected in 1925 and served until 1927, the first Jewish woman representative in Congress.



# MANHOLE COVERS



*A rare compass-rose pattern, designed in 1938, decorated a Los Angeles coal chute cover near a federal building until 1956.*



# artifacts in the streets

They lie on the ground unnoticed—embellished and gleaming, but worn. They suffer daily punishment from vehicular traffic. Victimized by weather and jackhammers, they are ceaselessly littered by pedestrians, derelicts, and dogs. Few passers-by notice them because they are mundane elements in the environment. They are manhole covers.

A vast unheeded repository of industrial art, the assorted metal lids embedded in our city pavements await discovery as veritable treasures of urban history. These lids, though usually relegated to the position of mere street hardware, reflect a distinct aspect of our cultural milieu, a singular body of design that is not apt to appear in the same manner again.

Designed by anonymous engineers and foundrymen, manhole covers exhibit a surprising multitude of patterns. Surfaces dance in countless unique formations of incised lines; they bristle with knobs and ridges and churn with clusters of circles, crosses, and stars.

While the lids—particularly the older ones which reflect bygone aesthetic fashions—display distinc-

tive patterns, their designs transcend the picturesque. Beyond decorative appeal, the covers offer fascinating historic revelations. Their logos and insignias provide a register of names and places prominent in our urban past. The inscriptions stamped amidst the swirls and spirals on the antique lids recall the obsolete business firms, extinct foundries, and vanished utility companies that once flourished in the cities that were. Tracing the company names illuminates milestones in early utility services and foundry practices and, possibly, identifies the age of the manhole covers, as well.

Establishing the exact date of a manhole cover is difficult. Diligent research frequently unearths only scant material from files and records. Many old drawings from city utility companies have been destroyed, and old foundry catalogues are virtually non-existent. Only occasionally do covers cast in the last century yield patent dates and only in a rare instance do they include the dates of their installation. A lucky day of research in the department of public works may produce an ancient sub-structure map with hole locations and year of origin, but these breakthroughs are uncommon. Usually a cover's date can only be approximated, either by checking the life-span of the foundry or utility named on the lid itself or by tracing the year the tract containing the cover was completed.

A manhold cover's most distinctive feature is its surface pattern. Occasional manufacturer's specifications remaining in city files indicate that the majority of today's surface patterns originated in the first decade of the twentieth century. Most of the familiar designs—waffle, hexagonal,<sup>1</sup> and radial<sup>2</sup>—have been in use since the early 1900's. Over the years, the covers have been redesigned and brought up to current standards of manufacture, but the surface patterns have remained similar to those of the early twentieth century.

Whatever its appearance, the surface pattern's prime function was to provide a non-skid surface for traffic crossing over it. Because the majority of cover patterns emerged during the horse-and-buggy era, the covers' knobs, indentations, and incised lines were placed to furnish safe footing for horses' hooves and good traction for buggy wheels. A book published in 1914 entitled *American Sewerage Practice* discusses the need for non-skid surface patterns on manhole covers:

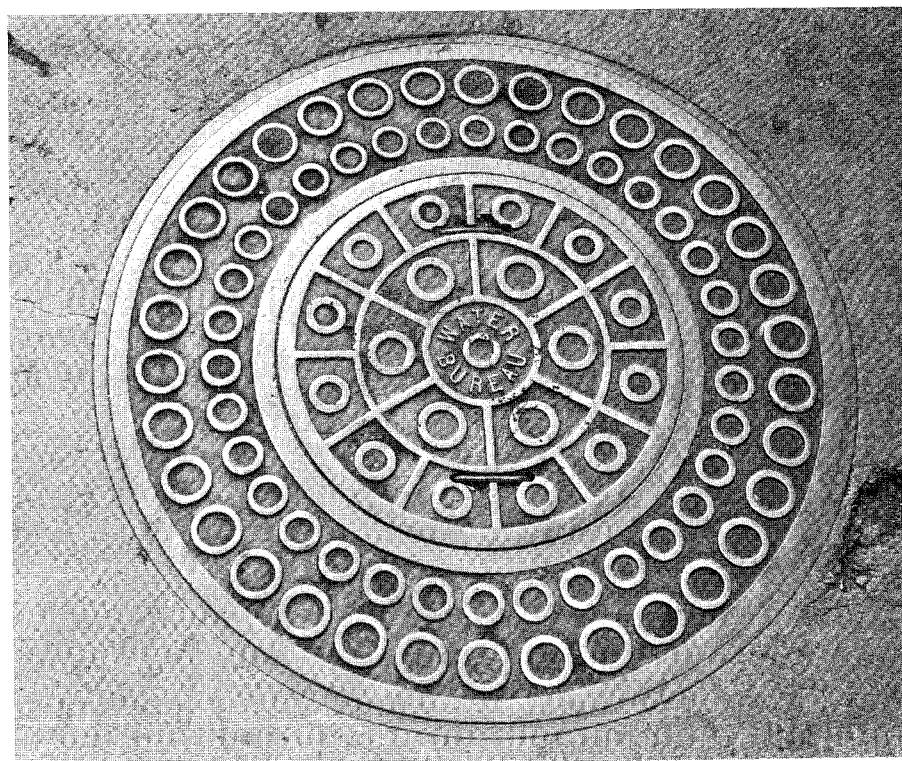
The practice of making the covers rather deep and having a pocket in their top, in which asphalt or wood blocks is placed, once much favored, is now regarded with much less favor by city engineers, who are recommending instead a cast iron cover with the surface broken by a shallow pattern of some sort which will give resistance to slipping when horses step on the castings.<sup>3</sup>

Mrs. and Mr. Melnick have written a complete study of the history of *The Manhole Covers of Los Angeles* (1974). Their manhole photographs will be reproduced in the United States Information Agency's magazine, *America*, for distribution in the Soviet Union.

Mrs. Melnick is a research assistant of Folklore at the University of California, Los Angeles, and Mr. Melnick is a photographer.



*A circled Los Angeles manhole lid with doughnut covers large water valves or pumps. Forged between 1911 and 1929, the entire unit weighs nearly 1000 pounds.*



Engineers also considered pedestrian traffic in cover design. Sidewalk covers, which allowed basement ventilation<sup>4</sup> and sub-street access, had to be geometrically incised with a skid-proof tread that would not ensnare the shoe heels of people walking by. (In recent years, sidewalk vents and tree-well covers have been completely redesigned with especially small openings in deference to the narrow spike-heels which entered ladies' fashion in the 1960's. With today's increase in bike riding, changes have also been made in storm-drain gratings to prevent bicycle tires from catching in the slots.)

Originally, cover-surface configurations were diversified for purposes of identification. Each public agency and private concern took a characteristic cover. Hexagonal patterns, for example, belonged to telephone companies, and waffle-patterned lids usually lay over sewer openings. In Los Angeles, concentric circles designated gas lids, while basket-weave surfaces signified electric facilities.

Studies of metropolitan utility services make no mention of the date that manholes first appeared in California cities. However, a 1914 report observed:

Although manholes are now among the most familiar features of sewerage systems, they were not used extensively until sometime after many large sewers had been constructed. They were intro-



*A six-pointed star individualized this Coast Counties Gas & Electric Company's handhole valve cover in Santa Cruz.*



## Manhole Covers

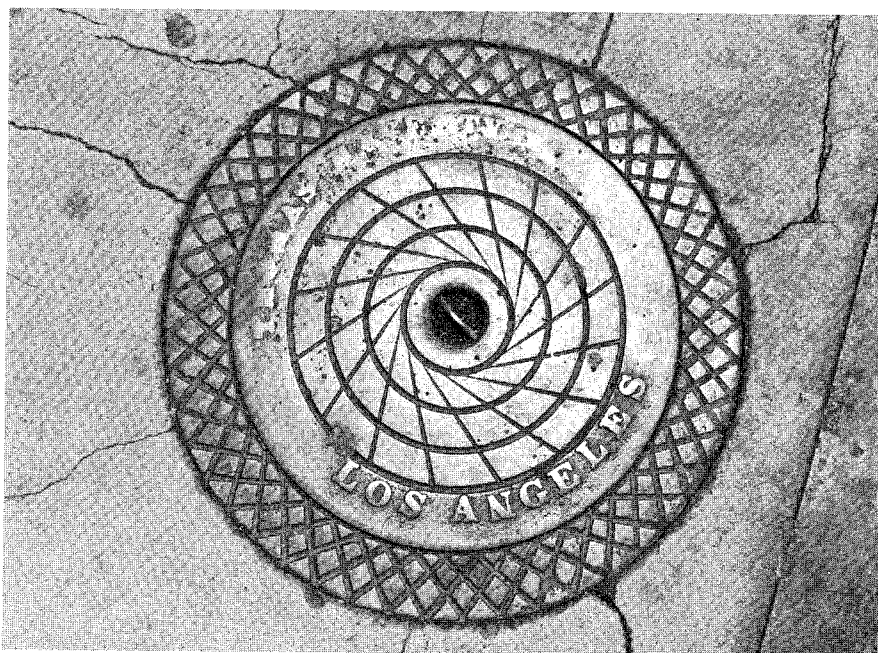
duced to facilitate the removal of grit and silt which had collected in the inverts of sewers having a low velocity of flow. Before that time, when a sewer became so badly clogged that it had to be cleaned, it was customary to dig down to the sewer, break through its walls, remove the obstruction and then close the sewer again, ready to cause the same trouble at a later date. The opposition to manholes seems to have been due to a fear of sewer air escaping from them.<sup>5</sup>

Underground systems needed to attain some degree of sophistication, then, before manholes as we know them—covered with metal lids and encasing subsurface facilities—would have been installed.<sup>6</sup> Historic covers in Los Angeles date no earlier than the 1880's,<sup>7</sup> the time of that city's first great expansion and population boom. In contrast, lids in San Francisco, Stockton, and Sacramento hark back to the 1860's and 1870's, reflecting the cities' earlier settlement and development.

The names stamped on old manhole covers comprise a unique register of foundries and utility companies active in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Prominent foundries such as Baker Iron Works (Los Angeles), Llewellyn Iron Works (Los Angeles), Stockton Iron Works (Stockton), and Globe Iron Works (Stockton) produced lids in the last century,<sup>8</sup> and their names survive for the record through their historic covers.

The list of early foundries is con-

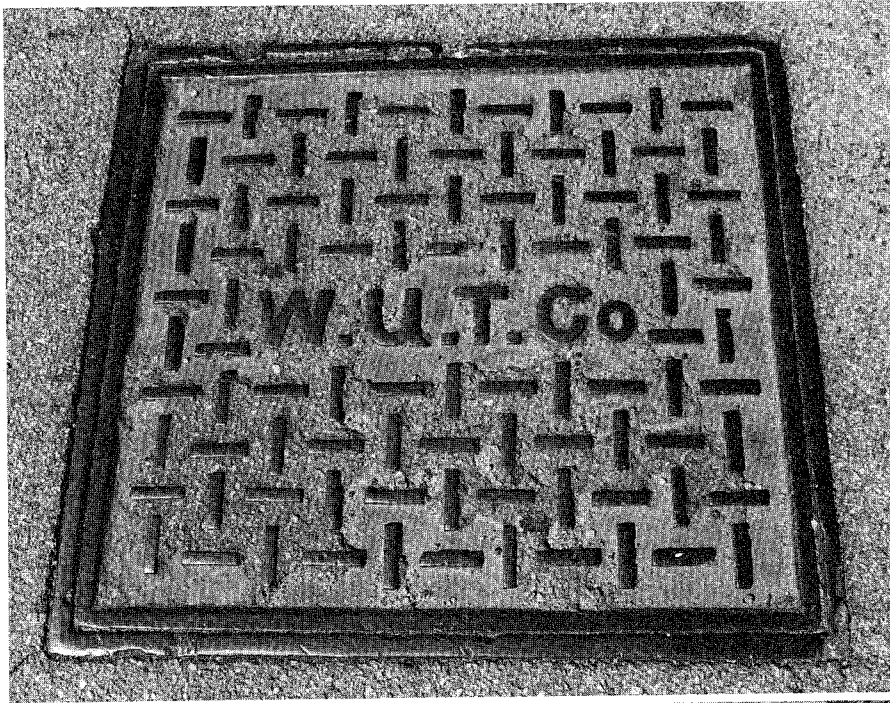
*A beautiful spiraled fuel-oil cover with contrasting ring was manufactured by Baker Iron Works for a Los Angeles plumbing supply firm in business from the 1890's to 1933. The cover and its mate have been destroyed.*



*This ventilated sewer cover lid is used by the San Francisco Department of Power and Water.*



*Surfaced with a turn-of-the-century basket-weave tread, square-form Western Union covers in Los Angeles were discontinued because they frequently fell into their holes.*



*Early sewers were periodically flushed. The large rectangular cover over the flushing device in this Stockton sewer was manufactured by the Stockton Iron Works. An 1889 patent date and the names of the foundry's proprietors appear on the frame.*

siderably longer than any list made today would be. Formerly, cities and most larger towns had one or more foundries, and each company manufactured covers for its own locale. With the advent of the twentieth century came the trend toward wider distribution from fewer manufacturers, and some older foundries closed their doors. Reduction occurred when the San Francisco earthquake demolished all but two foundries in the Bay area, leaving standing only the Phoenix Iron Works in Oakland and Joshua Hendy Foundry in south San Francisco. By the time of the Depression, Southern California's most prominent older foundries—Baker Iron Works (1887-1929), Llewellyn Iron Works (1894-1929) Union Iron Works (1883-1929), and United Casting (1902-1932)—had been forced out of business. For many more foundries the end came in mid-century with the passage of anti-pollution laws in Los Angeles (1953) and San Francisco (1960) which required installation of prohibitively expensive equipment.

Over the years the task of manufacturing manhole covers has fallen to the handful of iron works that have survived twentieth-century adversities. In Northern California, the largest manufacturer is Oakland's Phoenix Iron Works, established in 1901, which distributes covers as far north as Eureka. A majority of



Southern California lids emanate from the Alhambra Foundry of Alhambra, founded in 1923,<sup>9</sup> whose logo may also be seen in more northern parts of the state. Pinkerton Foundry of Lodi, organized in 1935, supplies most covers for the San Joaquin Valley area.

The California cities most rich in historic manhole covers are those which served as nineteenth-century foundry centers. Splendid deposits of old lids rest in the downtown streets of Los Angeles, Fresno, Stockton, San Francisco, Oakland, and Sacramento. Although gems appear throughout the state, these former foundry centers hold the concentration of antiquities, some seventy-five to 100 years old.

**F**oundries produce the heavy lid covers—heavy to endure and to deter theft—from grey iron or cast iron. Named for its color, grey iron is preferred to steel, which deteriorates without protection, and to aluminum, which is lighter but more expensive.

Scrap iron is the cover's main ingredient. Automobile engine blocks provide the bulk of scrap, but old manhole covers are also melted down for the new. Combined with coke, limestone, and new iron, the scrap metal is worked into a composition producing covers that machine well and enjoy a long lifespan. Covers are

sandcasted by pouring molten metal into a sand impression.

Foundries usually make their own patterns from wood, aluminum, and, in some cases, plastic. Wood molds are most popular, particularly mahogany wood because it is hard, easy to carve, and durable. Mahogany patterns receiving good care may last indefinitely.<sup>10</sup> New patterns are expensive: small wooden ones cost \$100, larger ones \$500.

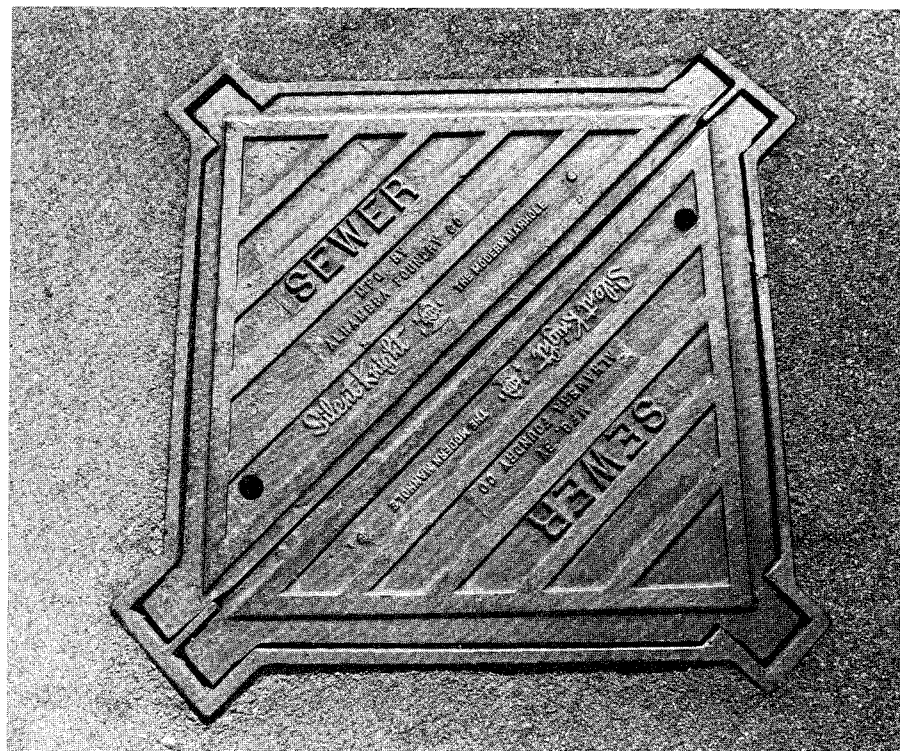
Once installed in the street, each manhole cover is held in place by a frame or ring to which it is "married." The parts are machined together for a close fit, an important

requirement for a noiseless, non-rocking unit. Round covers are easier to machine accurately, one reason for the popularity of that shape, and they cannot fall into the manholes.

Rings and covers are aged ninety days before bearing surfaces are finished. If rings and covers have been well-machined, they will not rock when a car wheel passes over. Utility companies, sensitive to citizens' complaints about clanking covers, may stuff rags and firehoses under the cover to act as a cushion between a rocking lid and an incompatible ring.

The average manhole cover weighs

*Designed in the 1950's and used nationwide, this "square" Silent Knight sewer cover consists of two triangular lids seated on corner lugs.*







*Vented and starred, this antique Stockton lid records  
a patent date of 1888 for Morgan's Manhole.*



## Manhole Covers

between 250 and 300 pounds; the average ring weighs about the same, depending on the design and intended location. Some rings are narrow and reveal but an inch or two of plain framework at street level; others, usually the older ones, are wide enough to sport lettering and designs.

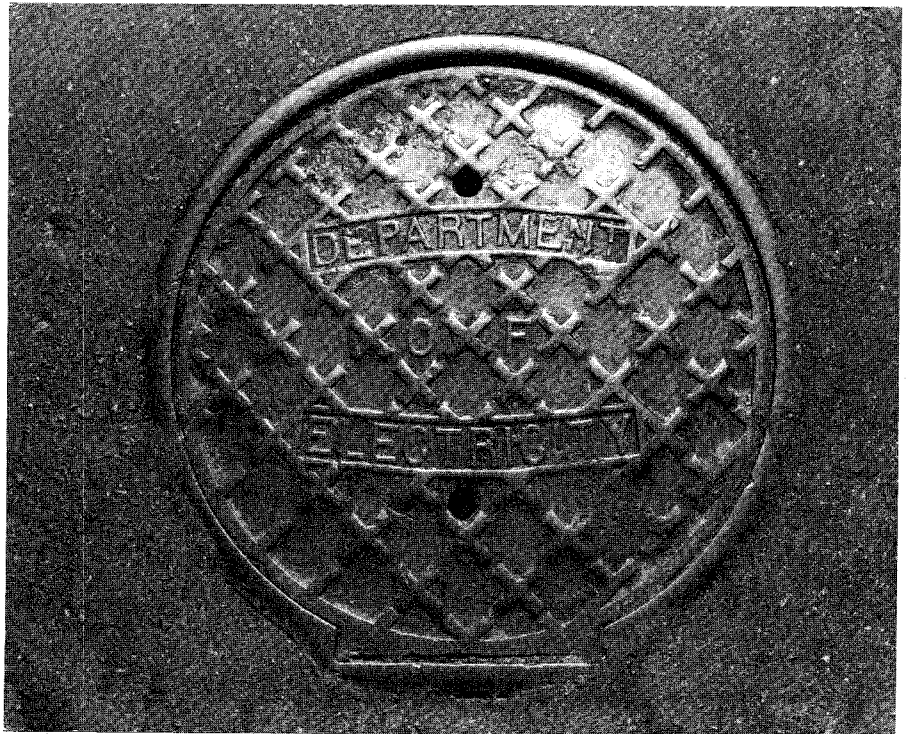
The size, shape, and weight of a lid indicate its function. The average round manhole cover must be at least 22 inches in diameter to allow passage of a man's (or woman's) body. The standard diameter is 24 to 27 inches, although they may be up to 36 inches when large equipment is to be used inside.

Smaller lids, with diameters measuring from 4 to 10 inches, are distinguished from larger covers by the name handhole covers. Some handhole covers are round, some rectangular. Used for access to valves, meter boxes, and survey monuments, handhole covers are just big enough to permit one hand to reach inside to accomplish the necessary task.

The largest covers sit over large valves and vaults containing transformers. In these cases, hinged rectangular split covers are most often used.

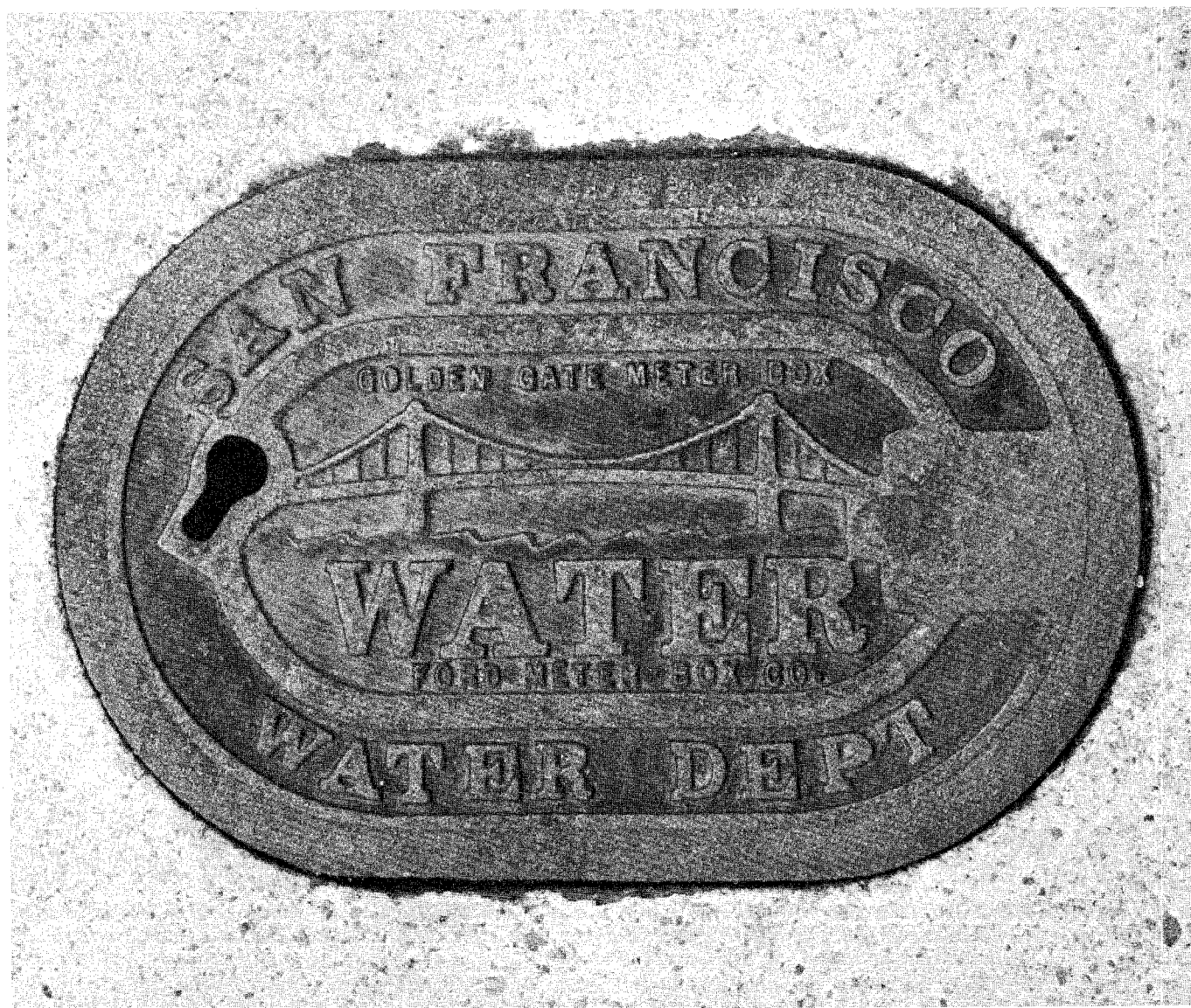
Inscribed in the surface pattern of the manhole or handhole cover is the name of the organization owning the lid and pertinent information regarding its function.<sup>11</sup> Whether the lid belongs to a utility company or a private concern, whether it is city,

*Keyed to prevent rotation, this old manhold lid covered San Francisco Department of Electricity facilities.*



*Starred ring and diamonded cover make a stunning design on this vented Sacramento sidewalk cover.*





county, or state property, what lies beneath it, and what foundry cast it are all recorded on the cover to the complex world beneath the streets.

A labyrinthian maze of pipes and wires runs under any busy city intersection. The intricate subsurface network of gas, telephone, telegraph, water, power, and sewer lines is frequently further complicated by obsolete utility lines, as well as traffic signals, fire-alarms and police-call boxes, storm drains, and catchbasins.

Many commercial buildings demand their own subterranean support systems. Some maintain fuel-oil tanks and coal shutes. Others need steam, which moves from a boiler through pipes via a tunnel to its destination. Some older downtown buildings required illumination for their basements and installed glass-studded lids as a source of light. In each case, a covered manhole or handhole mark the access.

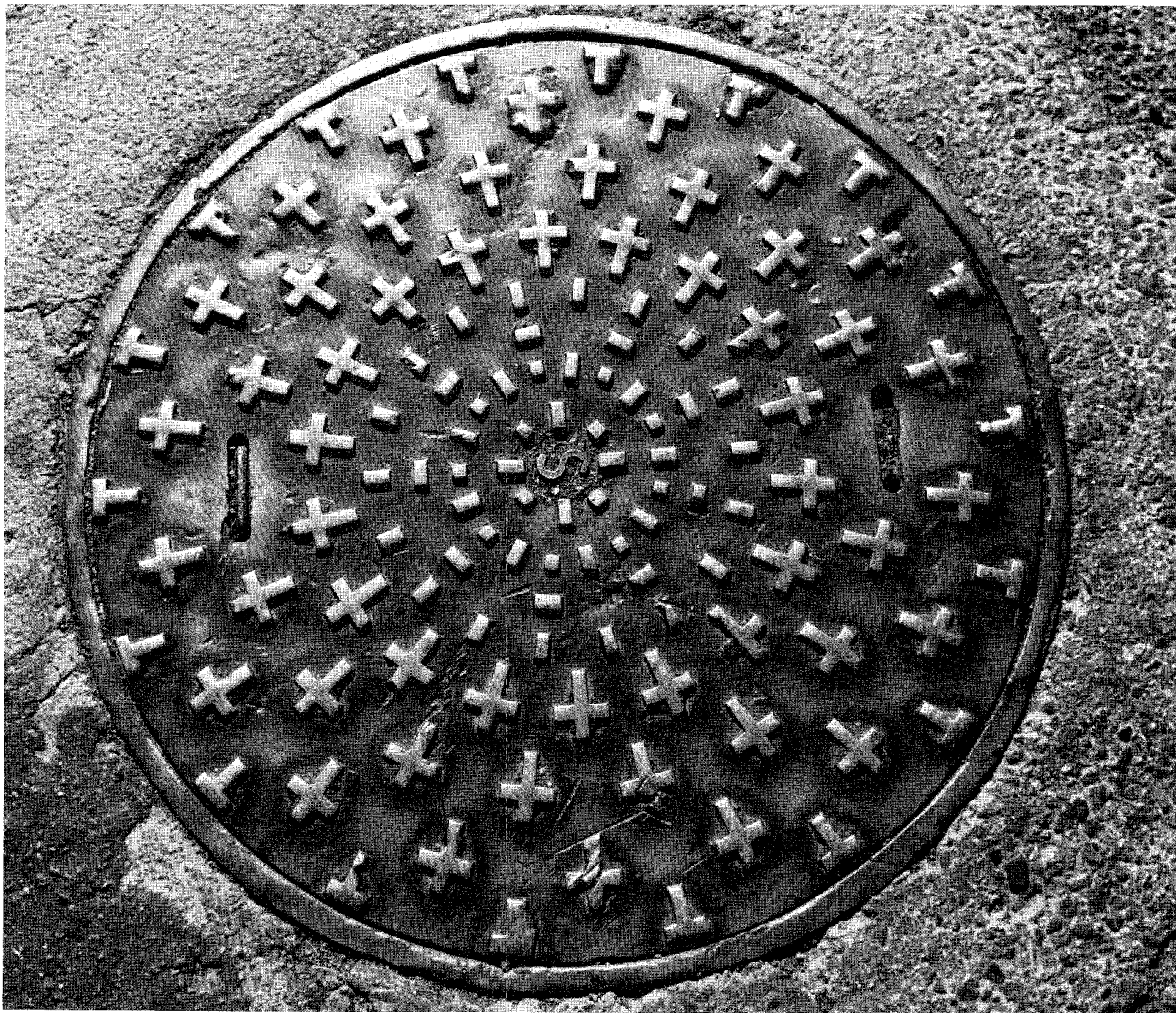
Other businesses have even more

specialized needs. Tanks for printers' ink surround newspaper offices such as the Los Angeles *Times* building. Salt bins lie beside many buildings to aid in softening water. Ammonia, once used as a coolant by ice companies, formerly ran through lines beneath downtown pavements, and lids labeled with the chemical's name may still be discovered. Fill boxes for gasoline below service stations are marked with yet another kind of cover.



*This rare water-meter cover is decorated with San Francisco's Golden Gate bridge rather than pure design elements. It was manufactured by the Ford Meter Box Company of Wabash, Indiana.*

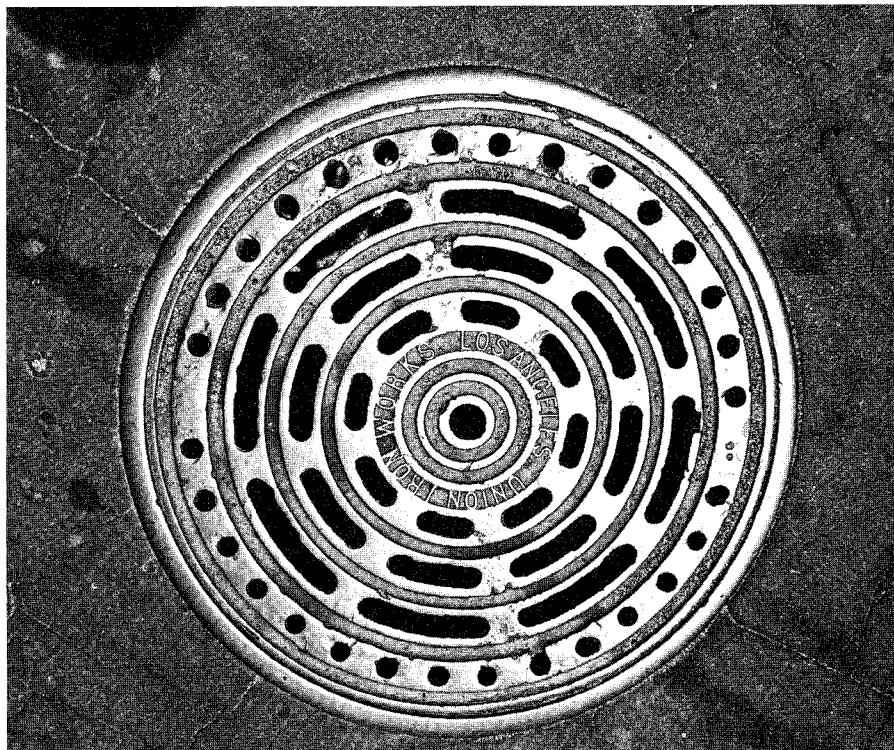
*This old surface pattern is common on Stockton and Sacramento sewer covers. Drop-lift handles assist in removal of the cover.*







*Holes punched in a waffle grid allow steam to escape through this New York-manufactured cover used in Oakland.*



*Set in the Los Angeles streets in 1896, this gem was machined by the Union Iron Works. Replaced by a common radial-design sewer cover in 1975, it has been since lost.*

Today, descent to the city's nether world is provided by steps cast in the neck of the hole or by a steel ladder. Modern manholes are made from concrete, cast in a factory, and transported in ring sections or slabs to a site where a hole has been dug.<sup>12</sup>

Formerly, manholes were built of brick, many by contractors of foreign birth. Each marked his manhole by leaving his signature inside. Literate men wrote their names; others left a distinctive mark such as a star or cross to identify their work.<sup>13</sup>

**A**lthough iron manhole covers enjoy great longevity, time, weather, traffic, and urban renewal progressively consume the older lids. As they wear, they are being replaced by standardized-design, machine-made treads which form nondescript backgrounds for logotypes. Economy dictates that surfaces be fabricated using common non-skid treads. Machine-made patterns are available in large wooden sheets, and pieces are cut from the sheet to be affixed to the surface of the cover. Such standard patterns as diamond, pebble-grain, fishplate, and honeycomb are replacing yesterday's individually-designed cover surfaces.

The aesthetic future of the manhole cover is not bright. Standardization and simplification result in unimagi-



native covers. Gone are the hand-crafted look and attention to individual design of yesterday. Dull contemporary patterns, street resurfacing, and natural deterioration of old covers are bringing the day of the unique street lid to an end.

Preservation of the old covers is a difficult undertaking. Street resurfacing and lid replacement go on constantly in a large city. By the time the preservationist arrives at a construction site, the prized lid has frequently been sold for scrap or is buried deep in a fill dump. Short of a citywide campaign to remove covers to museums<sup>14</sup>—a monumental project for even the most dedicated devotee of manhole covers—preservation can be realized only by reproduction via photography or rubbings. These methods preserve a record of what was, but provide poor substitutes for the visual pleasure invoked by direct contact with the contours, textures, and patinas of the real covers.

At present, urban archeologists who seek the remnants of California's industrial past must content themselves with private odysseys into the backstreets and alleys where they can still observe firsthand these artifacts. Manhole covers have played an aesthetic, historic, and functional role in our urban environment. As neglected industrial treasures, they are worthy of recognition and preservation.

## Notes

1. The hexagonal pattern, originated in the early 1920's and used throughout the century, is now the pattern identifying the telephone companies. Western Union's current lid also employs the hexagonal design, but its cover is distinguished by an identifying logo.
2. The radial pattern has been chosen by the City of Los Angeles as the standard surface for its manhole covers. Usage is designated in the center of the lid by "S" for sewer, "W" for water, "D" for drain, or the word "Drain," "Power," etc. This design is also used by the Edison Company and a number of private concerns.
3. Leonard Metcalf and Harrison Eddy, *American Sewerage Practice* (New York, 1914), I: 554-5.
4. With regard to vents in lids, Harold Pender and William Del Mar suggested: "A ratio of 1 sq. in. of ventilating holes for every 30 sq. in. of cover is ... adequate without weakening the cover." (New York & London, 1914), pp. 135-36. Later, A. Prescott Folwell recommended that "ventilation holes, if used, should be through the depressed parts of the cover, since by this construction the stoppage of the holes by dirt and snow and the entrance of dirt into the sewer are considerably lessened." *Sewerage* (New York & London, 1936), p. 178.
5. Metcalf & Eddy, *Sewerage Practice*, 532-3.
6. A few manhole covers in older eastern cities such as Boston have been in service in excess of 125 years, according to foundrymen interviewed by the authors.
7. For a complete study of the history of Los Angeles manhole covers, see Robert and Mimi Melnick, *The Manhole Covers of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1974).
8. Many of these foundries produced covers well into the first decades of the twentieth century.
9. Alhambra Foundry took over United Casting's patterns when that company closed its doors, a common practice in the industry.
10. Alhambra Foundry holds mahogany patterns in good condition which have undergone over 1,000 castings.
11. The State Public Utilities Commission specifies that all substructures must be identified as to ownership (General Order No. 128).
12. Sewer manholes are round and produced in ring sections; power and telephone manholes are square and produced in slabs.
13. Sewer maintenance demands some unusual manholes. To aid inspection of the interior of a sewer pipe, an access called a lamphole was occasionally provided. A light could be lowered into the sewer so that an observer stationed at a manhole on either side of the lamphole shaft could inspect the sewer interior. Access unique to outfall sewers is gained via a boat manhole, a 10' by 8' structure large enough to accommodate a special vessel lowered inside the manhole. Breathing apparatus must be supplied for the inspection. The boat is allowed to drift downstream, but remains connected by wire to a winch. These large manholes are covered with a series of rectangular plates.
14. In Los Angeles, Southern California Edison removed an antique Edison Electric Company cover (c. 1897-1909) for its company museum. The replacement lid cost the company \$100. The Los Angeles Bureau of Street Maintenance has placed a 6" square flaghole cover (c. 1925) in its archives. These actions are heartening, but rare.

Photographs are in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Melnick.



## Serving West Coast Collectors: The Story of The Book Club of California

### REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

For well over six decades this organization has been a potent factor in the cultural life of the state by fostering the printing, publishing, and collection of interesting, well-designed books. It is one of a number of such societies throughout the country, including the Grolier Club (New York), the Caxton Club (Chicago), the Club of Odd Volumes (Boston), and the Rowfant Club (Cleveland), all of which from time to time publish limited editions of books reflecting the bibliophilic interest of their members.

The California club was founded in 1912, and the story of its origin, which was informal in the extreme, is worth recalling. During that year plans were under way in San Francisco for the Panama Pacific International Exposition, which was to commemorate the completion of the Panama Canal, and a group of local book-fanciers sought out the upcoming fair's president, Charles C. Moore, and suggested that a collection of rare and important books be included among the exhibits. Moore, who was himself an ardent bibliophile, heartily approved the plan; however, he pointed out that the proposal would have more weight with the Committee on Exhibits if it came, not from a group of individuals, but from an organization. His visitors thanked him for his suggestion and left, only to return an hour or two later and resubmit their proposal, this time in the name of The Book Club of California, a name they had dreamed up over the luncheon table.

As it happened, the book exhibit at the 1915 exposition never materialized. However, the sponsors felt that local book collectors had need of such an organization, and a few weeks later the club was formally launched. Ex-Mayor Edward Robeson Taylor served as its first president, business executive W. R. K. Young as vice-president, San Francisco's long-time art patron, Albert M. Bender, became treasurer, and the secretary was the well-known local artist, Will Sparks. During its first years the little club—it claimed less than sixty charter members—had tough sledding. However, the founding group, all dedicated booklovers, gave liberally of their

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Mr. Lewis—one of the West's most widely known authors, several-time recipient of the Commonwealth Club's gold medal, and CHS Fellow—guided the Book Club of California for many years. Among his best-known works are *The Big Four*, *Sea Routes to the Gold Fields*, *Silver Kings*, and *San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis*.

time and effort, and gradually the club came to occupy the place they had envisioned for it: as an agency devoted to furthering the production and appreciation on the West Coast of worthwhile books in finely printed editions.

The initial publication—the first of more than 150 volumes to bear the club's imprint—appeared in 1914. This was Robert E. Cowan's *A Bibliography of the History of California and the Pacific West: 1510-1906*, long an indispensable tool for collectors of Californiana. The fact that the 358-page volume was printed from hand-set type on hand-made paper in an edition of only 250 copies necessitated fixing the price at \$20—far more than most collectors in 1914 were accustomed to pay for any book. This, plus the fact that not all members recognized the book's value—one objected to being asked “to pay \$20 for a catalogue”—so slowed sales that more than a decade passed before the last copies were sold. (However, those who had dubiously paid \$20 for their copies felt better about the transaction when the catalogues of rare book dealers were presently offering copies at three or four times their original price.)

Meanwhile the club's publishing program continued. During the first ten years sixteen books were issued, the printing of which was (with one exception) by the San Francisco firms of Taylor, Nash & Taylor, John Henry Nash, Taylor & Taylor, and, after 1921, the Grabhorn Press. Later, as other qualified book printers appeared on the scene, these too were commissioned to do work for the club. Among the latter were Johnck & Seeger, the Windsor Press of the Johnson brothers, the Black Vine Press, Lawton Kennedy, Adrian Wilson, Jack Stauffacher, and Mallette Dean, all in the San Francisco area, and, in Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie and the Plantin Press of Saul and Lillian Marks. Club books are issued in limited editions (usually 400 or 450 copies) and their sale is restricted to members, who have the opportunity—but not the obligation—to purchase each title as it appears. In recent years the editions have usually sold out within a week or two of publication.

The Club's aim has always been not only to provide members with examples of the work of the Far West's foremost book printers but to choose texts that clearly merit fine editions. As might be expected of this California club, the greater number of its publications have been in the fields of western

literature or western history. Of the scores of books in each category, it is possible here to mention only a few. In the field of literature the club has published works by such early-day western authors as Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Charles Warren Stoddard, Prentice Mulford, and J. Ross Browne and, coming down to more recent times, Mary Austin, Ambrose Bierce, George Sterling, and Robinson Jeffers. Historical material has included such important works as H. M. T. Powell's *The Santa Fe Trail to California, 1849-1852*, Captain F. W. Beechey's *An Account of a Visit to California . . . in 1825*, Gunner Meyers' *Journal of a Cruise to California and the Sandwich Islands* (1841), G. M. Waseurtz's *A Sojourn in California by the King's Orphan* (1842-1843), *The Journal and Drawings of Henry Miller* (1856), Neal Harlow's *Maps of San Francisco Bay . . . from 1769 to the American Occupation*, Robert H. Becker's two volumes of *diseños* of California ranchos (published in 1964 and 1969) and, as its Christmas publication for 1975, Jeanne Van Nostrand's *San Francisco, 1806-1906*, which reproduces fifty-three contemporary paintings, prints, and watercolor views of the city, most of them in the colors of the originals. Publications in 1976 included *Images of Chinatown*, by Richard Dillon, and *Valenti Angelo—Illustrator, Author, Printer*, edited by Anne Englund.

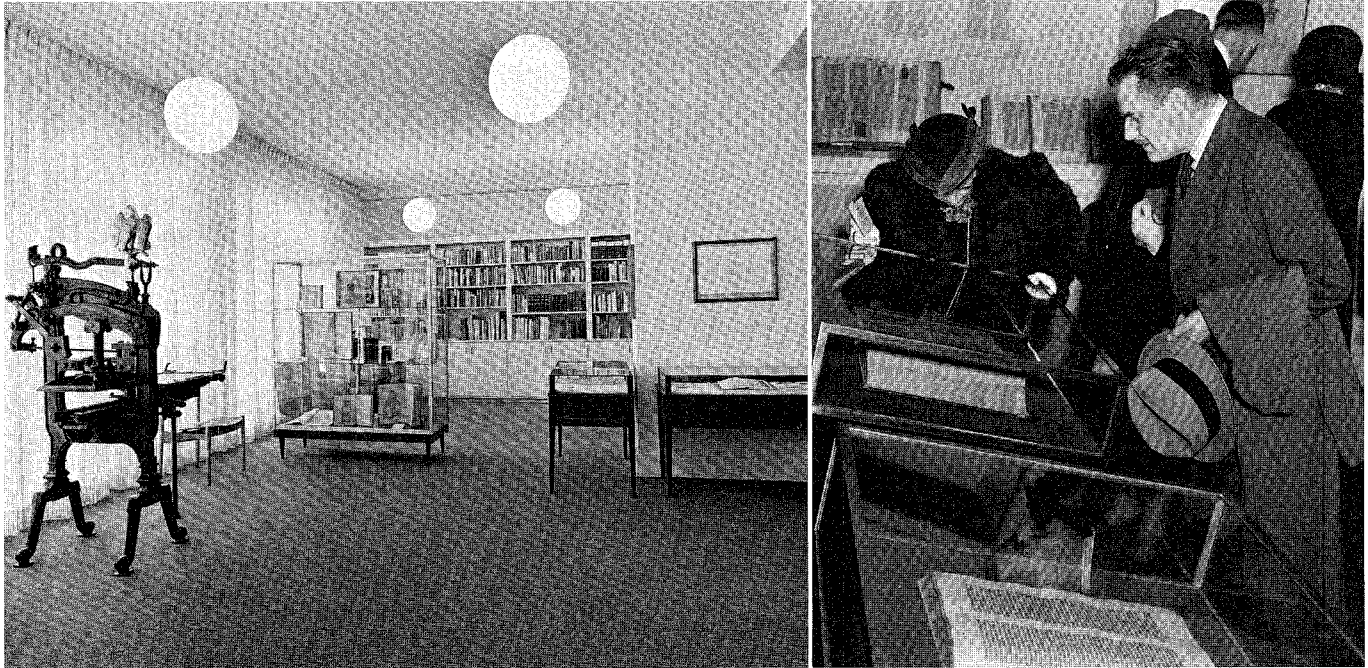
Other fields of interest to western bookmen have by no means been neglected. One aspect of the publishing program that has been warmly received by members has been the issuing of “leaf books,” that is, volumes dealing with the works of eminent printers of the past, each with an original leaf from one of their books. Among such publications have been: *An Original Leaf from The Polycricon* (William Caxton, 1482), *The Nuremberg Chronicle* (1493), Aldus' *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), Wynkyn de Worde's *The Golden Legend* (1527), *The King James Bible* (1611), Benjamin Franklin's printing of *Cato's Moral Distichs* (1735) and, most recently, *Dr. Johnson and Noah Webster*, with matching leaves from the first printing of the dictionaries of these pioneer lexicographers, Johnson's in 1755 and Webster's in 1828.

During the depression years of the 1930's the club, along with most other artistic, cultural, and educational organizations, suffered severely, and in order to restore the depleted membership roll to its former limit (which then stood at 500) two new activities were launched: the *Quarterly News-Letter*



*Sutter Street clubroom of San Francisco's Book Club.*

(At right) Oscar Lewis reviewing rare book display at the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island.



and a series of annual keepsakes. Both have proved valuable extensions of the club's service to members. The *Quarterly*, originally only eight pages but subsequently increased to twenty-four, keeps members informed of current activities, and in each number publishes one or more articles on subjects interesting to western bookmen. The keepsakes (the cost of which, like that of the *News-Letter*, is included in the annual dues) usually consists of twelve parts, each of which treats of some phase of the general subject. The nature of the subjects treated can perhaps best be made clear by citing the titles of a few typical series. Thus, "The Letters of Western Authors" appeared in 1935, "Contemporary California Short Stories" in 1937, "A Camera in the Gold Rush" in 1946, "The Vine in Early California" in 1955, "Treasures of California Collections" in 1956, "Homes of California Authors" in 1962, and, in 1972, "Cathay in El Dorado." Taken together, the thirty-nine annual series so far issued form a unique and valuable survey of California history and literature, much of it embodying information not readily available elsewhere.

With the launching of these new activities and the re-

sumption of its normal book publishing program—which had been much curtailed during the depression years—membership gradually returned to its former limit, and a waiting list was established. Since then, in order to accommodate the growing number of bookmen seeking membership, the roll has been several times increased and now stands at 950. It is probable that 950 will remain the limit, since a larger membership would, besides requiring a larger staff, lessen the value of its publications by necessitating an increase in the size of their editions, which now number 500 copies or less.

The clubrooms at 546 Sutter St., San Francisco, are open from 11 A.M. to 7 P.M. on Monday, 2 P.M.—5 P.M. Tuesdays through Friday, where frequently changed exhibits on literary, typographical, or historical subjects are on display and where information concerning membership may be obtained. At the present writing a considerable waiting list remains; hence, applicants face a delay of approximately six months before their names can be added to the roll.

The photographs are courtesy of the Book Club of California.

## Book Reviews

### *The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans*

By Roger Daniels. (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1975. xi, 135 pp. \$3.25.)

### *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*

By Michi Nishiura Weglyn. (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1976. 351 pp. Photos, maps, drawings, documents. \$10.95.)

### *Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp*

By Douglas W. Nelson. (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin for The Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1976. ix, 183 pp. \$12.50.)

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*Reviewed by Edison Uno, trustee of CHS and lecturer in Asian American Studies at San Francisco State University.*

If history is defined as that branch of knowledge that records and analyzes past events, it is important that history be recorded and analyzed by those who have experienced that past event.

Over the years, many books have been published about the wartime internment and treatment of 110,000 Japanese Americans who were removed from their homes on the West Coast. The success of the California Historical Society's book and traveling exhibit, *Executive Order 9066*, has contributed to our country's awareness of this shameful injustice in our history. The Society can take much credit for bringing this subject back to the nation's conscience and sustaining interest in the affair which resulted from the February 19, 1942, presidential order some thirty-five years ago.

Recently, three books have been published which begin to shed light on the long blacked-out experience. *The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans*, by Roger Daniels; Douglas W. Nelson's master's thesis, published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, entitled *Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp*; and *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*, by Michi Nishiura Weglyn are new titles with much new information about the dark days of World War II which resulted in the tragic loss of freedom, liberty, and justice for many American citizens.

Dr. Roger Daniels authored an earlier book, *Concentration Camps, USA: Japanese Americans and World War II*, which presents a comprehensive overview of that historic event. Currently a professor at State University of New York at Fredonia, Daniels' new title documents in greater detail the behind-the-scenes military and political decisions which ultimately put into motion the wholesale removal and incarceration of West Coast Japanese Americans. The first half of *The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans* explains the intricate workings of the military and political personalities involved. Frequently motivated by personal ambition, bitter prejudice, selfish opportunism, and blind obedience, they violated all of the fundamental principles which, in theory, should have protected American citizens. Professor Daniels' analysis of the mechanics of the bureaucratic decision-making powers exercised by government leaders raises questions as to how well our government can function under less than emergency situations, and it is frightening to realize that this enormous constitutional violation seems to illustrate the old saying, "There's a right way, there's a wrong way, but we'll do it the Army way." Indeed, the military did do it their way, a fact which Professor Daniels documents clearly in the second half of his book by reproducing official government documents which support his theories of military responsibility. Daniels makes it very obvious that the popular belief in evacuation from the Pacific Coast as a military necessity is and was pure propaganda.

Michi Nishiura Weglyn's book, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*, presents an even stronger text. A former evacuee, Ms. Weglyn reaches deep into the files of the National Archives and private papers of former President Roosevelt and other public officials to document and research material that heretofore was not available to scholars or writers. Her study, as indicated in the subtitle, emphasizes "the untold story of America's concentration camps." For the first time, she reveals secret and classified documents which suggest that the wartime handling of Japanese in the United States and in South America comes close to being a massive conspiracy to hide, deceive, and coverup the shameful crime that history cannot deny.

Ms. Weglyn's superb research reinforces several new theories which, in this reviewer's opinion, make obsolete most of the existing books on this subject. This is not to imply that books written previously about the evacuation are worthless, of course, for many cover areas not included in *Years of Infamy*. The majority of her material, however, which has



been hidden by statutory laws until recently declassified, sheds an entirely new light on the real causes and motivations for the years of infamy and suffering caused by the government's policy of internment.

Weglyn explodes the popular myth that Japanese Americans were put into American-style concentration camps for "their own protection" from a hostile public. Rather, the United States government needed civilian prisoners-of-war which could be used in diplomatic negotiations with the enemy's prisoners-of-war: in other words, Japanese Americans were held as "barter reserve" in order to negotiate for concessions in favor of Americans held captive by the Axis powers. The reserve also had the practical possibility of being a "reprisal reserve," thereby a powerful weapon against poor treatment of Americans held by the enemy. Ironically, two-thirds of the people evacuated were American citizens by birth, and, therefore their detainment for use as a "reserve"—whether it be for barter or reprisal—made them captives of their own beloved American government.

A less sensational, but equally important, new revelation is the disclosure that prior to World War II, a special presidential request mandated Lt. Curtis Munson to investigate the status of West Coast residents of Japanese descent. The Munson Report, made before Pearl Harbor, testified that the Japanese population was not an internal security threat. In fact, it concluded that Japanese Americans were model citizens and loyal Americans who maintained strong anti-military attitudes about the Japanese government and the Emperor. In the face of this early study, a mass evacuation program was on the drawing boards soon after Pearl Harbor, and by February 19, 1942, it had become official policy. The Munson Report, obviously, was scrapped. No questions of loyalty were raised; without charges, without trial, and without guilt, Japanese Americans were evacuated with military precision. Denied was the basic American right of due process of law, a concept intended to protect the individual citizen from the tyranny of an absolute governmental power. The Japanese, as Munson reported, proved their obedience to the law by cooperating with Uncle Sam to make the removal and internment a successful and smooth military operation. And so 110,000 Japanese Americans were marched into barbed-wire enclosures replete with guard towers, military police, barracks, and the other prison-like safeguards characterizing America's concentration camps.

James Michener's introduction to *Years of Infamy* sets an angry tone which perhaps implies that author Weglyn is also

bitter and angry. As a close personal friend of Ms. Weglyn for many years, I can attest that she is neither bitter nor angry; however, she justifiably suffers the psychological scars, the anguish of self-contempt, the stigma of guilt, and the other deep-seated painful feelings which many internees feel even decades after the crime.

*Years of Infamy* sets a new standard of excellence for research and writing which many professional writers and researchers will find difficult to meet. For her enormous effort, Weglyn's book is highly recommended for all Americans who must share in the unique heritage of the experience of the Japanese in America.

Published under the auspices of The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Douglas W. Nelson's book, *Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp*, is another new title on the Japanese American experience. It also proves that a sensitive and compassionate perspective can be the result of careful research, not just first-hand experience. Studying Heart Mountain camp in Wyoming, Nelson captures many of the subjective feelings of the internment episode which allows the reader to understand the traumatic psychological toll that the dislocation had on many evacuees. On camp life, which has been portrayed by some as a tolerable, if not enjoyable experience, Nelson speaks frankly: "The claim of normality was simply untrue. Whatever appearances there were of a healthy, full community life were just that—appearances. At most they provided a thin veneer over a life filled with petty conflict, artificiality, and pain.

"In some cases, the War Relocation Authority consciously contrived the appearances of conventional community life in order to obscure the real character of the camp. This is certainly true of the much-publicized notion of evacuees doing worthwhile work for wages. The work in the main was a combination of drudgery and 'make-work.' . . . The 'wages' were a mockery as well: \$12 a month (about 7¢ an hour) for unskilled labor, \$16 for semi-skilled, and \$19 for professional or highly skilled work. It is not surprising that one observer found that most of the young evacuees on the Heart Mountain payroll 'act as if they were doing time.'"

Author Nelson acknowledges Roger Daniels' invaluable help while Nelson was a graduate student at the University of Wyoming. His book, the product of a master's thesis, makes a contribution to American history which will inspire future scholars, researchers, and writers to view history with the insight and sensitivity often lacking in academic objectivity.

*Imperial Russia in Frontier America:  
The Changing Geography of Supply of Russian  
America, 1784-1867*

By James R. Gibson. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976. x, 257 pp. Illustrations. Cloth \$10.00, paper \$6.00.)

*Reviewed by C. Bickford O'Brien, professor emeritus of Russian history, University of California, Davis.*

The study of the Russian settlement of North America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries continues to attract scholars who feel an urge to probe key questions more deeply and to challenge the accepted standard explanations of important decisions and events. Among the latest efforts to clarify one of these neglected issues is a new work by James Gibson. The author, a geographer, calls his book "a study in human historical geography" insofar as Russian attempts to solve the problem of food-supply generated human settlement, resource development, and regional interchange. Although the subject is placed in an historical setting and, at first glance, appears to cover much of the same ground as previous studies, such matters as government policy, administrative leadership, and international rivalry are of secondary interest to the author. Instead, he presents a refreshing view of the influence of provisioning on the evolution of the settlement. After thoroughly investigating living conditions at sixteen posts in the colonies that comprised Russian America, he concludes that the longstanding inability of the Russian American Company to provide adequate supplies for its personnel was a decisive factor in the decision to withdraw from the American hemisphere.

Gibson has apparently reached his conclusion after a prodigious study of the sources in the Soviet Union, Western Europe, and the United States. While most of his insights concern the element of human historical geography, his random observations on social attitudes and international relations are also noteworthy. We learn, for example, that most Russians of the nineteenth century regarded the American settlements as more desolate than Siberia and the American, Canadian, and Mexican neighbors of the settlers as insignificant. On the larger issue of confrontation among the competing powers on the Northwest Coast, we are told that their relations were characterized more by amicable compromise than by acrimonious conflict because the stakes were probably "not high enough to warrant bloodshed."

Among the illuminating chapters of the book are those dealing with the transport of goods from Siberia to Russian America and with local agriculture in Alaska and California. The chapter on the hazardous routing of goods for "the American delivery" from Baikal and Yakutia to Sitka via Okhotsk, and on later routings from European Russia to Alaska on Russian vessels and from Boston to Alaska on Yankee vessels, assembles fascinating materials on modes of shipment, types of merchandise, and travel conditions that have largely been unknown. In the chapters on local agriculture, the trials and low yields of farming in Alaska and at Fort Ross are vividly described. In the end, and for a variety of reasons, the author shows how all Russia's efforts to overcome the problem of provisioning failed. The Russian settlements rarely had enough provisions, and undernourishment, apathy, and alcoholism became chronic problems. By the mid-nineteenth century the Company had virtually exhausted the possibilities for overcoming food shortages, and this, combined with the restrictive character of the Company and the administrative and technological backwardness of the colonizers, helped to explain the withdrawal.

This well-written book constitutes an outstanding addition to the literature on Russian America. Besides the many new insights provided in the text, some excellent maps are offered by Miklos Pinther, as are helpful drawings, tables, footnotes, a bibliography, and an index. All in all, this is a book worth owning.

*William Mulholland: A Forgotten Forefather*

By Robert W. Matson. (Stockton: University of the Pacific, 1976. Pacific Center for Western Studies Monograph No. 6. 89 pp. Illustrations, index. \$7.00.)

*Reviewed by William L. Kahrl, director of research in Governor Brown's Office of Planning and Research and author of a two-part study of the Los Angeles Aqueduct published in the Spring and Summer, 1976, Quarterly.*

William Mulholland would make a crackerjack subject for biography. He was the masterbuilder of the Los Angeles Aqueduct whose waterworks continued to support the metropolis he helped to build; and yet, he had no formal education or training as an engineer. He pursued his policies for



the future development of Los Angeles through nearly fifty years of political turmoil and united the fractious South Coast communities in the Metropolitan Water District; and yet, so skillful a politician never sought or held elective office. By determining to sacrifice the Owens Valley for the sake of development in the San Fernando, he fostered one of the great land grabs in California history; and yet, he never personally profited from these schemes or the great fortunes they built.

Above all else, Mulholland was a survivor. When, in the midst of his career, the water agency he headed passed from private to public control, Mulholland made himself indispensable to his new employers by fighting to keep the company's records from the city. And when he had struck his own deal to sustain his position, he helped to convince the company to sell out and then switched to stand steadfast for the principle of public water. In the years that followed, he drew unto himself all the powers of his office until he became the majestic embodiment of Los Angeles' water programs. Despite the controversies over the suffering his policies had caused in the Owens Valley, only a disaster of the magnitude of the Saint Francis Dam failure could dislodge him from power.

Unfortunately, Robert William Matson's *William Mulholland: A Forgotten Forefather* is not the book Mulholland deserves. A life of such enduring achievement demands a biographer who can tell us the whys and hows of what Mulholland did. Matson, however, has simply gathered up every Bill Mulholland anecdote his limited research revealed and clustered them into an unseemly amalgam without analysis, forethought, or even strict attention to accuracy.

All of the rough edges, the brilliance, the sheer gall of the man have been removed. Instead, Matson offers the recollections of Mulholland's associates, many of whom were writing long after his fall in an attempt to resuscitate his reputation and the credit of their careers. These have been smoothed together with the popular images Mulholland himself encouraged through the publications and promotional broadsides of his own department. The image of the man that results is overblown, literally mythic, and peculiarly antiseptic. We learn from Matson, for example, that Mulholland was gruff, sometimes imperious, but invariably beloved by his employees, an expert in the works of Shakespeare, Pope and Carlyle, a student of etymology and psychology, and an *aficionado* of the art of Rembrandt and Sarah Bernhardt. As if this weren't enough for a man without education who could seldom bear to spend many hours away from the field and

at his desk, Matson informs us that he even invented the term "caterpillar" to describe the traction engines used on the aqueduct.

Although the Caterpillar Tractor Company and the people who developed the machine in the Delta might take issue with the last of these tributes, this kind of puffery was a standard method of praising famous men of the period. It is not particularly illuminating, probably untrue, wholly unverifiable, but basically harmless. The fact that Matson has included this material, together with stories about Mulholland and ducks, jaywalkers, boulders, eggs, and pursesnatchers, illustrates, however, his guileless reliance upon a limited selection of highly dubious sources.

In addition to Mulholland's own reports and the recollections of his minions, Matson has drawn heavily upon the reminiscences of Mulholland's daughter and two aging and unpublished master's theses. One of these unpublished works is so adulatory that its author refused even to mention Mulholland's involvement in the Saint Francis Dam disaster. Matson accomplishes an almost equivalent leap of historical selectivity by refusing to treat the activities of the San Fernando land syndicate, whose profit-making schemes many saw as the basis for Mulholland's programs. As a result, the revelation of the syndicate's existence by the *Los Angeles Examiner* in 1905 is brushed off as an "amusing" but insignificant event and the continuing controversy in later years is ignored. Matson may have decided that the syndicate was not important to Mulholland, but he should at least acknowledge the existence of the charge. As it is, Matson leaves his reader wondering why the old man was controversial at all, why Teddy Roosevelt had any trouble clearing the way for construction of the aqueduct, and why Mulholland had to meet the resistance of the Owens Valley ranchers so "courageously."

Matson's treatment of the formation of the Metropolitan Water District is similarly facile, glossing over the complex maneuvers in which Mulholland's skill was most clearly displayed. As for the problem of Mulholland's responsibility for the failure of the Saint Francis Dam, Matson again turns to the testimony of Mulholland's former colleagues to raise again the vague exonerating rumors of sabotage which were never supported or taken seriously at the time and which not even Mulholland would cite publicly in his own defense.

Matson's work is derivative, and it could be dismissed as trivial if it were not so misleading. In any case, that great book on Mulholland still remains to be written.

*California: The Great Exception*

By Carey McWilliams. (Salt Lake City and Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1976. xviii, 377 pp. Paper \$4.95.)

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*Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, author of the new University of California Press book entitled All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975.*

Two years ago in these pages Dave Selvin noted that "if there had been no Carey McWilliams back in the latter days of the 1930's, we would have to invent one." Selvin was referring to McWilliams' efforts as State Commissioner of Immigration and Housing and his publication of *Factories in the Field*, a timely critical analysis of California agribusiness. But many historians would argue that a more important stage of McWilliams' career came a decade later, in 1949, with publication of his *California: The Great Exception*. While the book is not without faults, it remains the best general interpretation of California history written in this century. The appearance of a new edition is thus a significant event.

In 1949 McWilliams was writing in the midst of the postwar population and economic boom. He saw profound historical continuities between the furious expansion of the Gold Rush period and the extraordinary growth of his own era. The boom of the 1940's was evidence for McWilliams that "the golden legends still flourish." "The Gold Rush is still on," he claimed, "and everything remains topsy turvey."

McWilliams, then, agreed with John Caughey that gold was the "cornerstone" of California history. But he went even further than Caughey in establishing an interpretation which utilizes the Gold Rush as the crucial determinant of much of the state's subsequent development. California's peculiar social mix, as well as the unique character of its industry, agriculture, labor relations, and politics are traced back to the Gold Rush era. McWilliams also discusses the role of California's natural environment and climate, but for him the boom set off by the discovery of gold is the major man-made cause for California's status as a "great exception" among American states—a region unto itself with a unique way of life.

The book is a prime example of "present-minded" history. McWilliams used the past to gain an understanding of the postwar period in which he lived. But such present-minded histories run the risk of becoming dated. Unlike 1949, the year 1976 is hardly a boom time in California. The state's

population now is scarcely growing as fast as that of the nation as a whole, and California is lagging behind most other states in recovering from the national recession. Increasingly, great popular support is generated for controlling rather than promoting growth, and there is a remarkable public appetite for conservation and preservation efforts. In light of this new California reality, it is not surprising that Carey McWilliams was invited to Berkeley last spring to lecture on the topic "Is California Still Exceptional?"

McWilliams answered "Yes." He contended that the state's massive size and its cultural and economic impact on the rest of the world continue to give it a unique place in the American union. But in the Berkeley lecture, McWilliams' argument was essentially ahistorical—he did not link the state's present uniqueness with its past exceptionalism.

This was not the case when he wrote *California: the Great Exception* in 1949. Then McWilliams sought and found continuities between the boom of the 1840's and that of the 1940's. In the process he illuminated much that was important about California's past, and thus his book continues to have great value today. But we still need new interpretations that provide historical insight into the economic and social reality of present-day California.

*Charles C. Chapman: The Career of a Creative Californian, 1853-1944*

Edited by Donald H. Pflueger. (Los Angeles: Anderson, Ritchie & Simon, 1976. x, 241 pp. \$12.50.)

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*Reviewed by John Caughey, Emeritus Professor of American History at the University of California, Los Angeles, and co-author with LaRee Caughey of a new anthology, Los Angeles: Biography of a City.*

From his exemplary local histories of Glendora and Covina, Donald Pflueger has moved all the way to Orange County for a comparable contribution fashioned from the manuscript autobiography of Charles C. Chapman.

Chapman's boyhood recollections are of Macomb, Illinois, and a variety of jobs: hod carrying, selling apples at the station, delivering messages for Western Union and carrying the news of Lincoln's assassination, helping his father in the building trade, and shipping apples and poultry. At seventeen





he became a salesman and interviewer for a history of McDonough County. Soon he and his brother were producing county histories (with pioneer biographies) for Illinois, Iowa, and Michigan counties. They moved to Chicago and their firm of Chapman Brothers, later Historic Record Company, published among other works, Guinn's *History of Los Angeles County* and Armor's *History of Orange County*.

His wife's illness prompted a sudden move in 1894 to Fort Worth and then, to escape the summer heat, to Southern California. They experimented at Glendora, Covina, Victorville, Redlands, and at Figueroa and Adams in Los Angeles, where in September his wife died.

As a Californian, Chapman did not reenter printing and publishing, but he continued his Chicago habit of investing in urban and agricultural real estate, hotels, business blocks, and various businesses. He was principal organizer and officer of a bank, soon sold to the Bank of Italy, not least for its name, Bank of America.

His principal and most successful venture was a ranch at the edge of Fullerton, planted to oranges and walnuts, and in smaller groves to lemons, apricots, peaches, and plums. By experiment, advice from experienced growers such as William McFadden, and by his own innovations, Chapman learned which fruits to concentrate on, how to improve the



yield, packing, and marketing. His Old Mission brand consistently brought premium prices. By growing and marketing the variety known as the Valencia Late, he established himself as a premier orange grower. On this operation his account is as informative as Charles Teague's *Fifty Years a Rancher* with its stress on the lemon and walnut industries.

With these profits, escalation of value on much of his town and country holdings, and royalties on oil produced both in town and out, he gained very considerable wealth.

When Fullerton was incorporated, Chapman saw to it that part of his ranch and the ranch home were included in the city limits. He became a councilman and then mayor. By guaranteeing that the town could get along without the license revenue, he persuaded the council to ban saloons. He was in addition a generous philanthropist, particularly through the Church of Christ and the launching and nurture of the California Christian College. This school later was given what he thought was a somewhat less apt name, Chapman College.

This book is a credit to the versatile autobiographer and to its editor.

### *Black Powder and Hand Steel: Miners and Machines on the Old Western Frontier*

By Otis E. Young, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. xii, 196 pp. Illustrations. \$9.95.)

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*Reviewed by Richard E. Lingenfelter, professor of geophysics at the University of California, Los Angeles.*

This is a particularly disappointing book. A general study of the western miner and his machines has long been wanting, and it still is. Considering the richness of the ground the author has to work, it is indeed a wonder he could come up with so little. But he just picks at a few worked-out surface croppings, often careless even in distinguishing the ore from the gangue.

The chapters touch on the miner, blasting, camp amusements, silver prospects, hoisting, gold mining, the Cornish pump, and the burro, but the reach exceeds the grasp. The treatments of blasting, hoisting, and pumping, for example, concentrate more on European origins than on uses and adaptations in the western mines. The specific chapters on

gold and silver mining amount to little more than a history of the Vulture mine near Wickenburg and a biography of Tombstone-discoverer Ed Schieffelin.

The carelessness of the work is evident from the opening page where Mexican miners are dismissed as late comers to the western mines, when in fact they were the first skilled deep miners on the ground. A disturbingly narrow view of who the miners were pervades the book. There is, for example, no recognition of Chinese miners; indeed Chinese are mentioned only once, lumped together with alcoholics as "two species of comparatively helpless humanity."

There is an equally strong regional bias to the book that is well delineated in its only map, which shows nearly every place mentioned even casually. The map encompasses only the southwestern states, includes mining camps in only four states, and focuses on the country within a few hours drive of Tempe. This is further emphasized by an enigmatic black line that encircles much of Arizona. What it actually represents is hard to imagine; it is labeled "'Old Spanish Trail' Walker and Weaver Routes," as if they might be the same, but they are not, and it is neither.

The shallowness of the whole work, however, is most obvious in the book's bibliography—in the paucity of source material from which it is drawn. The most conspicuous omission for a book on western mining technology is Rodman Paul's classic *Mining Frontiers of the Far West*. Many rich lodes of primary material, such as letters, diaries, and local newspapers, are also entirely untouched. One newspaper, the *Arizona Miner*, is listed in the bibliography, but its inclusion is almost gratuitous, as only one issue is cited.

In short the work not only fails to break new ground; it doesn't even cover the known ground and is little more than a careless reworking of a handful of secondary sources, better read in themselves.

### *Yosemite and Its Innkeepers.*

By Shirley Sargent. (Yosemite: Flying Spur Press, 1975. 176 pp. Illustrations, source notes, index, maps. \$15.00.)

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*Reviewed by William F. Kimes, John Muir consultant and bibliographer.*

It is indeed a fortunate turn of events when the most highly qualified writer is on the spot to chronicle an interesting and



*Genteel outdoor living at Yosemite's Camp Curry*

important sequence of history. Shirley Sargent was just the right person at the right place to chronicle *Yosemite and Its Innkeepers*, a significant addition to the ever-growing library of Sierra and Yosemite books.

Miss Sargent spent much of her childhood in the Yosemite Valley where she attended grade school. Her father was a civil engineer for a construction company that built modern roads into the Valley and during the summer months the family "moved camp" to be near him. This afforded the author an early opportunity to become intimately acquainted with the remote areas of the park. Added to this experience is her residence for the past eleven years at her Flying Spur Ranch adjacent to the western boundary of the park. Her many years of association with the park and her great affection for it, combined with her keen interest in history, have provided the incentive for her to become Yosemite's outstanding historian.

It is not surprising that in 1972, Dr. Alan Coleman, then president of the Yosemite Park and Curry Company, commissioned Miss Sargent to write the history of the company and gave her complete access to company records. The book is exceedingly well researched. Without telling the author's age (classified information for all members of the fair sex), she either knew the many people mentioned in the book, or was well acquainted with their friends or relatives. Through more than one hundred interviews, the author gained a wide knowledge of the scores of people who contributed to the development and direction of the company; thus, a great portion of the book comes very near to being a first person narrative.

The book begins with a résumé of the earliest pioneer efforts to offer bed and board to tourists. It was an intriguing group of individuals who were quick to see and seize a promising business opportunity; however, it was David and Jennie

Curry with their mid-western brand of hospitality based on hard work and perseverance, who surpassed and outlasted all the others. David Curry, spirited and gregarious, was the genial host that few could forget. Jennie, his indispensable partner, was quiet but efficient, and equal to any emergency. Her firm and fair management dispensed with her graciousness, endeared her to employees and guests alike, eventually earning her the affectionate title of Mother Curry. The major portion of the book is necessarily about this unusual family: their imaginative approach to their business which they preferred to call service; their triumphs and successes as well as their misfortunes and sorrows. Of the innumerable people who make up the drama of the Innkeepers, I found that the many who pass on stage so briefly with scarcely more than a mention of name, at times, tend to confuse and diminish the identity and importance of the people who were most responsible for the development of the company.

Regardless of the multitude of names, the book's lively story of this famous company, inextricably interwoven as it is with the history of the Yosemite National Park, gives a perspective of both: their vicissitudes and their achievements through storms and floods, war and peace, depression and prosperity.

The numerous photographs, many of which are previously unpublished from private collections, not only illustrate the story with aplomb and humor, but in many instances augment the text itself. *Yosemite and Its Innkeepers* can add a new dimension of understanding and appreciation for anyone's visit to Yosemite.

### *Yesterday's San Diego*

By Neil Morgan and Tom Blair. (Miami: E. A. Seemann Publishing, 1976. 160 pp. Illustrations. \$9.95.)

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*Reviewed by Richard Pourade, writer and historian of San Diego.*

The assignment to review a new book on San Diego was not accepted with enthusiasm. One of the two authors is a friend, and the subject is one with which the reviewer is most familiar and thus perhaps biased in favor of himself.

*Yesterday's San Diego* is the twenty-first in a series of illustrated books on American cities, presumably published in observance of the Bicentennial. But the book fell so com-

pletely out of any scholarly pretension that it could be reviewed as a fast-sale popularization summoning no new information or interpretations and depending mostly on photographs, probably half of which already had appeared in this reviewer's series on the history of San Diego. Textual matter is brief and, after the introduction, episodic.

Knowledgeable readers on the Spanish and Mexican periods in particular will wince at some of the hurried statements which are either in error or generalized to a point of being misleading. This was surprising since the No. 1 author, Neil Morgan, a newspaper columnist, is a precise and well-regarded writer. Among his books are *The Westward Tilt* and *The California Syndrome*. The suspicion arises that the research and writing was left to the second author, a youthful former student of music, who assists Morgan in writing a daily column of local chit-chat, and that Morgan merely loaned his name to the enterprise.

However, despite errors and youthful phraseology, such as San Diego at one point being described as in a "holding pattern" and another time as being an "awkward adolescent," this book has a place. It will introduce hundreds of new readers to fascinating glimpses of the history of San Diego and, incidentally, of California. For most of them, it may be enough. Others, however, may go on from there, their interest kindled, and even read this reviewer's books on San Diego, and, hopefully, some of the many scholarly works available on California.



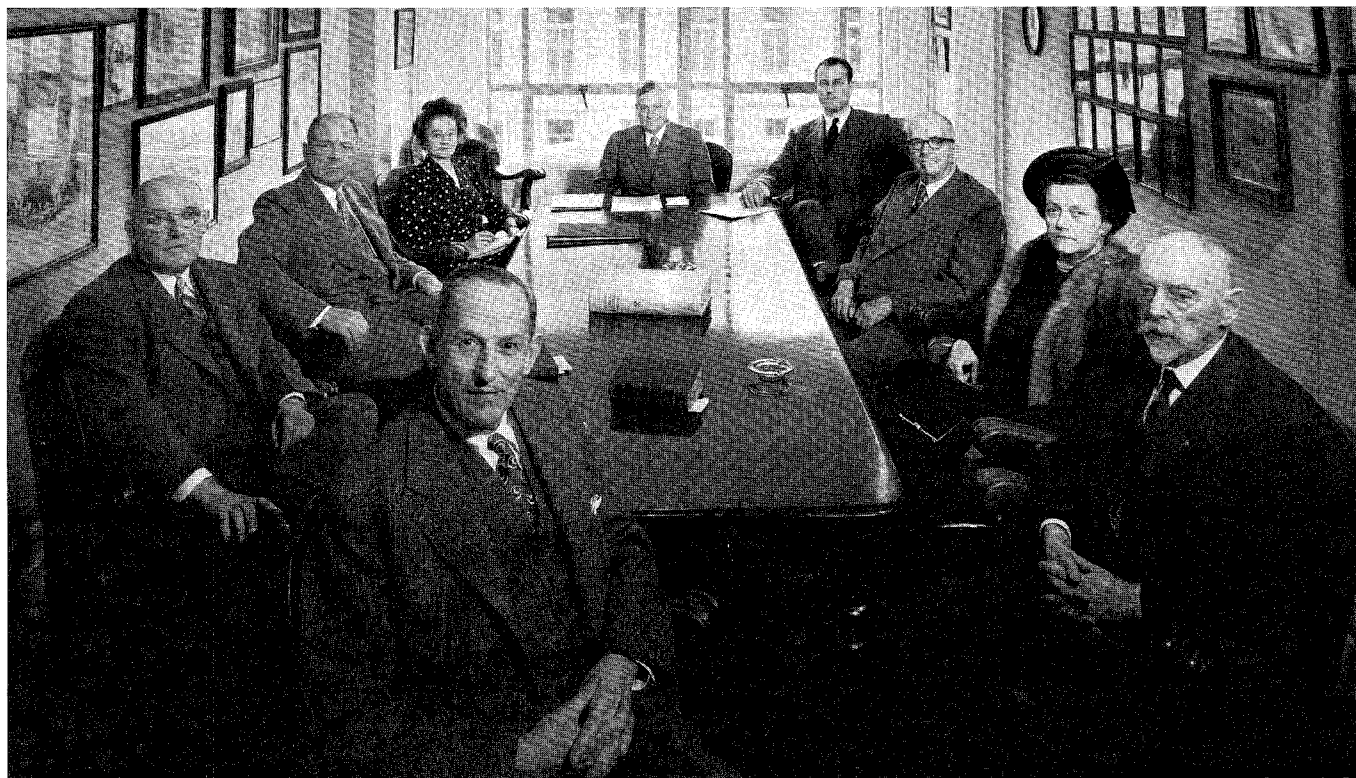
## In Memoriam

GEORGE LABAN HARDING, who served CHS in many capacities, and always with distinction, was born at Indianapolis, Indiana, in 1893 and died at Berkeley on August 30, 1976, only a few weeks short of his eighty-third birthday. During his long lifetime he was active in many fields, combining a successful business career with participation in a wide variety of worthy movements and organizations, ranging from the Boy Scouts of America (of which he was for many years a member of the National Executive Board) to that of founder, curator, and prime begetter of the outstanding research library of western printing and publishing, the Edward C. Kemble Collections.

Educated at Indiana University, from which he received an A.B. degree in 1915, and at Harvard

(M.B.A., 1917), he saw service as a lieutenant, j.g., USNR, during World War I, then was for several years assistant comptroller of a ship-building firm at Tacoma. He joined the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company in 1928 and remained for thirty years, attaining the rank of secretary and treasurer, a post he held from 1946 until his retirement at the age of sixty-five in 1958.

During his stay at Harvard, a course conducted by the celebrated Boston typographer, Daniel Berkeley Updike, awakened in him a keen interest in the history of types and printing. This was an avocation which he followed with such zeal and well-directed industry as to make him a recognized authority on the early printing and printers of the West Coast. His biography of California's first printer, *Don Agustin V. Zamorano*, published in 1934, presents a well-rounded and credible



*George Harding (foreground) meeting with directors of CHS in 1958*

picture of this important but formerly obscure figure. His other writings in that field include *A Census of California Spanish Imprints, 1833-1839*, and, most recently, *Charles Murdock, Printer and Citizen of San Francisco*. For years he was an assiduous collector of material documenting the history of California printing, and since his retirement the building up and cataloguing of this collection occupied a major share of his attention. The result is the already mentioned Edward C. Kemble Collections—named in honor of a pioneer California printer-editor and housed on the top floor of the Society's Library—which has become a veritable treasure-trove to students of the beginnings of California printing.

It is possible only to summarize briefly George Harding's many invaluable services to the Society. A member since 1932, he was elected to the board of directors seven years later. Always interested and innovative, he was active on various committees and in 1958 was elected president, a post he held for two terms. During his years as president, treasurer, and chairman of the finance committee he played a leading role not only in placing the Society on a firm financial footing but in acquiring the Whittier Mansion as its headquarters in 1956, and, in 1961, its handsome library building, Schubert Hall.

Moreover, he played an active role in the affairs of a number of other historical, literary, and cultural organizations. Among them were The Book Club of California, of which he was president from 1949 to 1952, two societies of book collectors, The Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, and the Zamorano Club of Los Angeles, and (not least) E Clampus Vitus, the modern version of the fun-loving order that flourished in the Mother Lode during gold-rush days.

He is survived by his wife Dorothy (also a long and valued friend of the Society) and a son, Henry L. Harding.

Oscar Lewis

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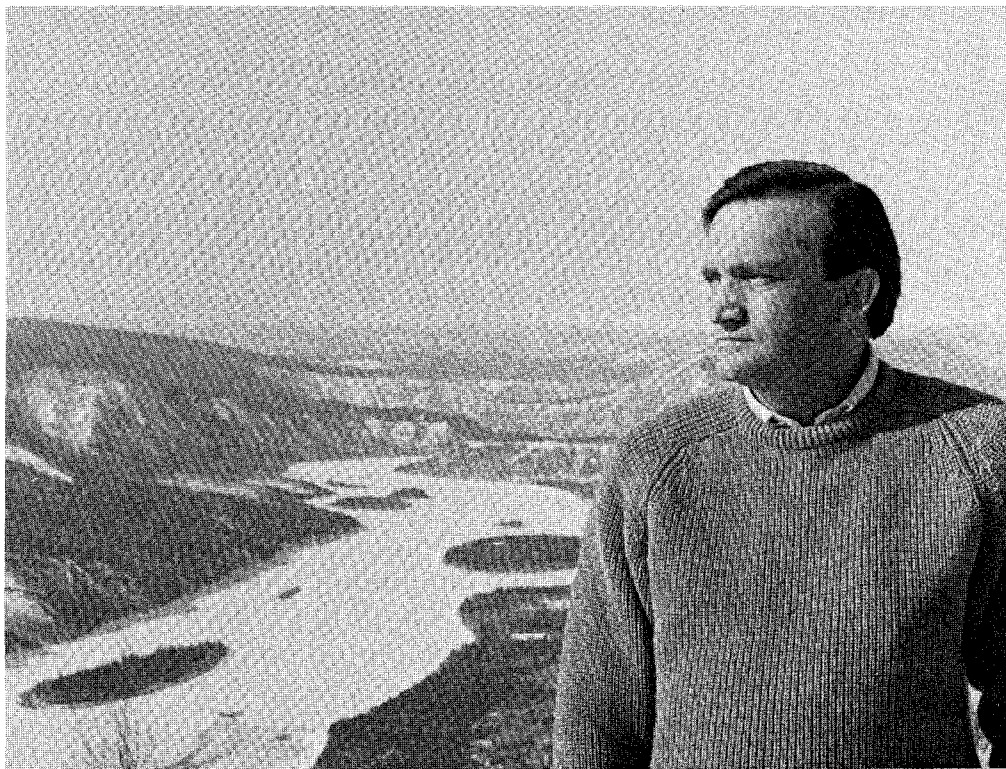
WILLIAM KNOX BRONSON, who died in Sacramento on July 13, 1976, was a trustee of the California Historical Society, a long-time member of its publications committee, and one of that small band of writers who bring to the subject of historical California, as well as contemporary California, the full measure of insight, vigor, and devotion this discipline requires.

It is difficult, indeed, for an old friend to write dispassionately of Bill Bronson's life. Obituary notices are the meanest form of journalism. Bill was born in Oakland. He went to school in Piedmont. He ran; he wrote; he acted; and, on occasion, he misbehaved. He went to Cal, which he liked well enough, and (as a graduate student) to Stanford, which he did not like at all. He married Marilyn Moen, and they had four children—Knox, Megan, Nathan, and Benjamin. He wrote articles, reviews, books, films, and a television documentary. He edited magazines. He made innumerable friends and, I suppose, a few enemies. He would have been fifty years old this fall.

This will not do, of course. The essence is lost. The first time I encountered Bill, his black hair was shaved down to a moleskin fuzz. We were at Scout camp, and the kids who had scalped him in some juvenile ritual of exculpation called him "Chicken Head." I, too, called him "Chicken Head" for several years, until one day, when we were working together, writing a skit for a high school rally, Bill told me with unforgettable precision that those who perpetuate cruelty are worse than those who originate it, for they act out of stupidity and not compulsion.

Despite my stupidity, we remained friends and wrote many skits together—burlesques, satires, parodies. Their common attribute was double-entendre. (Those were sneaky days, before the Free Speech Movement.) Bill had a democratic spirit: his targets were snobs and hypocrites of any age, religion, sex, class, or station. He could endure cruelty and forgive stupidity, but he could





Bill Bronson in Dawson while researching his final book, *The Last Grand Adventure*

not tolerate self-righteousness. Dimly, I perceived that he had the makings of an evangelist.

When Bill was in his early twenties, he was crippled by poliomyelitis, a curse of our generation. He never walked again without leg braces and crutches. His infirmity turned him to writing. With Marilyn's constant help, he began the immense research that culminated in his dramatic pictorial history of the San Francisco earthquake and fire, *The Earth Shook, the Sky Burned*, the book that established his reputation as a popular historian. He followed it up with a short film on the same theme and another book—*Still Flying and Nailed to the Mast*—that was a poor relation of the first, yet has the distinction of being perhaps the liveliest company history ever written.

During the months that he was working on *Still Flying*, Bill was becoming alarmed by the grave threats of uncontrolled technology to the natural environment of California—air and water pollution, clear-cut logging, juggernaut freeways, the urbanization of prime agricultural lands, billboards, litter, neon-in-the-sky. He became one of the state's most articulate spokesman for the environmental movement, both as author of an important book (*How to Kill a Golden State*), and as

editor for eight years of the quarterly *Cry California*. Later, he was editor of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* and contributed articles on environmental concerns to national magazines, encyclopedias, and anthologies.

Bill describes himself as an environmentalist rather than a historian. ("I'm just another red-assed conservationist," he often said.) But it was a work of popular history, a pictorial essay on the Yukon goldrush, that was consuming his energy last spring when he collapsed in illness and exhaustion. The book, close to completion, is to be published next year. It is called *The Last Grand Adventure*.

Bill seldom spoke of his affliction. (What is there to say, after all, when one is crippled and always will be crippled?) But he told me once that he often dreamed that he was running.

His words stayed with me and helped me understand his flights of antic and perverse imagination, his outbursts of exasperation (even at those whom he loved best), his extravagances, and his willful dissipation of a body weakened by disease and desuetude. In my mind, I see him running now.

Richard Reinhardt

# California Check List

Gary F. Kurutz, *Library Director*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1975-76) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographic information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

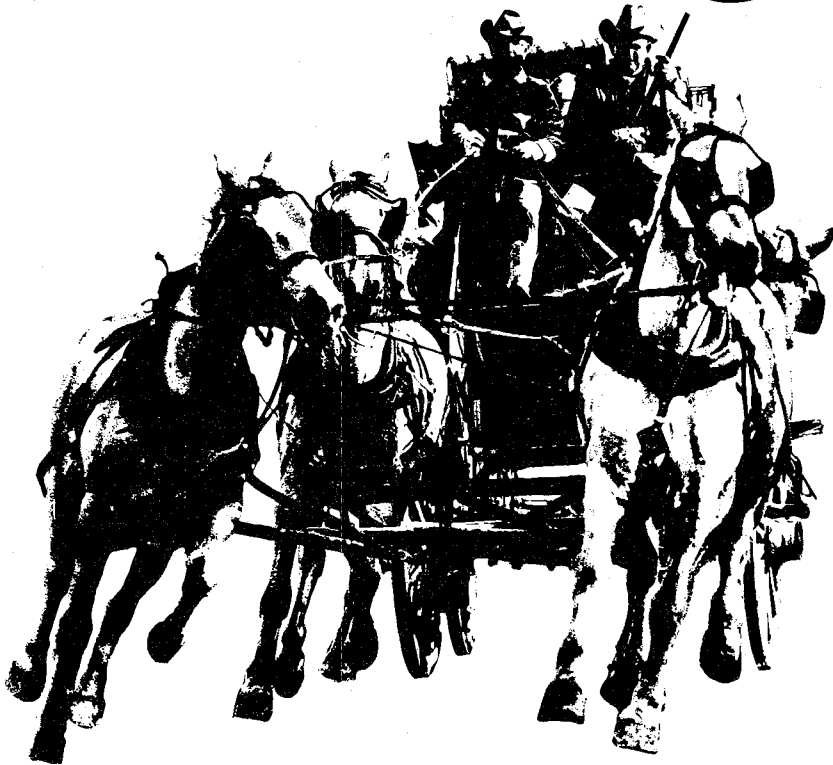
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- Anderson, Henry P. *The Bracero Program in California*. New York: Arno Press, 1976. \$19.00. Publisher, 330 Madison Avenue, NY 10017.
- Avina, Rose H. *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in California*. New York: Arno Press, 1976. \$11.00.
- Barra, Judy. *The Long Road to Tehachapi*. Tehachapi: by the author, 1976. 231 pp. Illustrations, Maps.
- Beauchamp, Jean M. (editor). *The Covered Wagon*. Selections from Earlier Issues. 1943-1950. Redding: The Shasta Historical Society, 1976. 100 pp. \$3.00. Publisher, P.O. Box 277, Redding 96001.
- California History Center. *Histories. The Spanish Heritage of Santa Clara Valley*. Cupertino: California History Center, 1976. 149 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, De Anza College, 21250 Stevens Creek Blvd., Cupertino 95014.
- Caughy, John and LaRee. *Los Angeles: Biography of a City*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. 528 pp. Illustrations. \$14.95.
- Conkley, Edith. *Journal of Charles Enoch Huse*. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Historical Society, 1976. 400 pp. Illustrations. \$25.00. Publisher: P.O. Box 578, Santa Barbara 93102.
- Cook, Sherburne F. *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization*. (Reprint). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. 534 pp. \$24.75.
- Cooke, Philip St. George. *The Conquest of New Mexico and California*. (Reprint). New York: Arno Press, 1976. \$18.00.
- Dash, Norman. *Yesterday's Los Angeles*. Seemann's Historic Cities Series, No. 26. Miami: E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., 1976. 208 pp. Photographs. Maps. \$12.95. Publisher: E. A. Seemann, P.O. Box K, Miami 33156.
- de Witt, Howard A. *Anti-Filipino Movements in California: A History, Bibliography, and Study Guide*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associated, 1976. 117 pp. \$8.00. Publisher, 4843 Mission Street, San Francisco 94112.
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- Gist, Brooks D. *Empire Out of the Tules. A True Story of the San Joaquin Valley in California*. Tulare, 1976. 234 pp. Illustrations. \$9.95.
- Harrington, Marie. *A Golden Spike*. Mission Hills: San Fernando Valley Historical Society, Inc., 1976. 32 pp. Publisher, 10940 Sepulveda Blvd., Mission Hills 91245.
- Hynding, Alan A. *California Historymakers*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1976. 154 pp. Illustrations. \$4.95. Publisher, 2460 Kerper Blvd., Dubuque 52001.
- Historic Resources Inventory. *Contra Costa County*. Martinez: Contra Costa County Planning Department, 1976. Publisher, County Administration Building, Martinez 94553.
- Junior League of Pasadena. *The California Heritage Cookbook*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1976. 424 pp. \$9.95.
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- Lan, Dean. *Prestige with Limitations: Realities of the Chinese-American Elite*. San Francisco: R and E. Research Associates, 1976. 75 pp. \$8.00. Publisher, 4843 Mission Street, San Francisco 94112.
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- Mayers, Jackson. *The San Fernando Valley*. Diamond Bar: John D. McIntyre, 1976. 310 pp. Illustrations. \$25.00. Publisher, 23733 Sunset Crossing Road, Diamond Bar 91765.
- Miller, Ronald Dean and Peggy Jean Miller. *Mines of the Mojave*. Glendale: La Siesta Press, 1976. 71 pp. Illustrations. \$2.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 406, Glendale 91209.
- Muir, John. *West of the Rocky Mountains*. Philadelphia: Running Press, 1976. 508 pp. Illustrations. \$8.95.
- Nasatir, Abraham P. (editor). *Brand Book Number Four*. San Diego: The San Diego Corral of the Westerners, 1976. 186 pp. Illustrations. \$25.00.
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- Page, Charles Hall. *Santa Cruz Renovation Manual*. A Homeowner's Handbook. San Francisco: Charles Hall Page & Associates, 1976. 106 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, 400 Montgomery Street, San Francisco 94104.
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- Regnery, Dorothy F. *An Enduring Heritage. Historic Buildings of the San Francisco Peninsula*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976. 124 pp. Illustrations. \$18.95.
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- Rosengarten, Frederic. *Freebooters Must Die! The Life and Death of William Walker*. Wayne, Pennsylvania: Haverford House, 1976. 226 pp. Illustrations. \$9.50. Publisher, Box 408, Wayne, PA 19087.
- Salkin, John and Laurie Gordon. *Orange Crate Art. The Story of the Labels that Launched a Golden Era*. New York: Warner Books, 1976. 79 pp. Illustrations. \$6.95. Publisher, 75 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 10019.
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- Seims, Charles. *Mount Lowe. The Railway in the Clouds*. San Marino: Golden West Books, 1976. 232 pp. Illustrations. \$21.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 8136, San Marino 91108.
- Serling, Robert H. *The Only Way to Fly. The Story of Western Airlines*. New York: Doubleday, 1976. 494 pp. Illustrations. \$10.95.
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- Sillo, Terry. *Excerpts from Southern California's Architectural Heritage*. Pasadena: Gallery Productions, 1976. 111 pp. Illustrations. \$6.95. Publisher, 355 S. Los Robles 2344, Pasadena 91101.
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- Walsh, Jane MacLaren. *John Peabody Harrington. The Man and His California Indian Fieldnotes*. Ramona: Ballena Press, 1976. 58 pp. Illustrations. \$4.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 711, Ramona 92065.
- Watkins, T. H. and R. R. Olmsted. *Mirror of the Dream. An Illustrated History of San Francisco*. Scrimshaw Press, 1976. Illustrations. \$30.00.
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- Yolo County Historical Society. *Woodland House Tour, 1976*. Woodland: Booklet Series No. 5, 1976. Publisher, P.O. Box 1447, Woodland 95695.
- Young, Betty Lou and Thomas R. Young. *Rustic Canyon and the Story of the Uplifters*. Santa Monica: Casa Vieja Press, 1976. 166 pp. Illustrations. \$16.96. Publisher, P.O. Box 1316, Pacific Palisades 90272.

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*The First  
California Printer*

*I am*  
DON AGUSTIN V.

# ZAMORANO

You Californians! How heedless you are of your origins, your antecedents and your ancestors! Where is your Vizcaino oak? You never heard of it? You glorify your "General Sherman" or some other redwood tree merely because it is the largest in the world and you drive your automobiles through its living trunk. But the noble oak beneath which Vizcaino took this glorious land in the name of King and country . . . you do not know where it is? It is in Monterey, forgotten by the roadside, where your automobiles fling their contemptuous dust upon its whitened stump! Well, then, why should you know of me? I am less important than that tree. I was merely the pioneer printer of this state. Oh, I was not a good printer, for I was too busy as a statesman, soldier, engineer, hunter, Indian fighter, artist and father of seven children to acquire much skill as a printer. But you may thank me for three things. First, for not accepting a single grant of land, though I could have owned nearly half the state, and cities, streets, hotels and bars would now bear my name. Second, for nipping in the bud a ferocious Indian plot to massacre all white men in the state and take their women to the hills to breed a new race. And third, for bringing to California and operating the first printing press, in 1834. Your townsmen in Columbia, however, burned this priceless press on the 13th of November, 1851, in an act of barbarism as black as the charred remains of the press itself. As to my work, let it suffice to say that the famous MANIFIESTO I printed for Governor Figueroa is today regarded as a masterpiece of pioneer printing. But, my work could have shown rare typographic excellence had there been at my elbow, as close as my telephone, one of the finest typographical houses in America, as you have in *Mackenzie-Harris Corp., 460 Bryant Street (Sutter 1-5629) San Francisco, California*. Come to think of it I did not have a telephone!

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# An Enduring Heritage

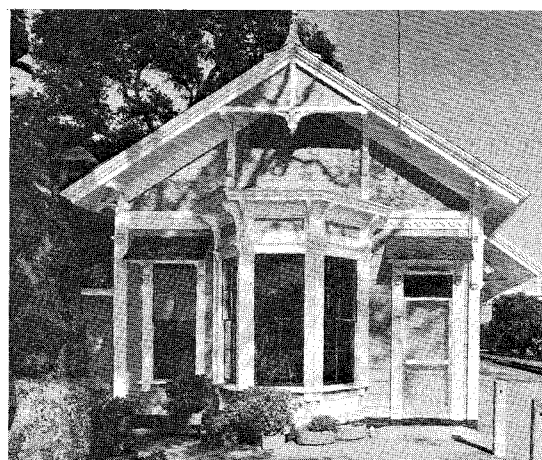
## *Historic Buildings of the San Francisco Peninsula*

DOROTHY F. REGNERY

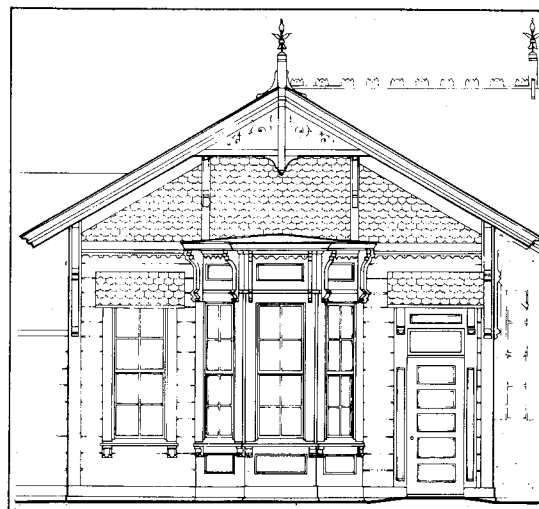
*Photographs by Jack E. Boucher of the Historical American Buildings Survey of the National Parks Service.* Illustrated with 161 contemporary and historic photographs and drawings, this is a record of the history of San Mateo and northernmost Santa Clara counties from the 1850's to 1920 as seen through their most significant extant structures. The rich architectural heritage of the area is reflected in the great variety of the sixty buildings included—residences, churches, public buildings, schools, train stations, barns and outbuildings, wineries, dairies, and a range of historic structures on the Stanford campus. The majority of the buildings have been continuously occupied or in active use since their construction. Although some show the ravages of time and neglect and others are imperiled by the possibility of demolition, many have been lovingly and faithfully restored. The description of each structure contains historical information, architectural comment, an account of any important renovations or additions, and an indication of its present circumstances. \$18.95

Stanford University Press

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Menlo Park Railroad Station, remodeled in 1890 to include all the decorative elements of the era.







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VOLUME LV 1976

## Contents

California Historical Society

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NUMBER 1—SPRING 1976

The Politics of California Water:  
Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Aqueduct, 1900-1927  
*Part I* 2

by William L. Kahrl

The Viceregal Order for the Founding of San Francisco 26  
by W. Michael Mathes

Gold Diggers: Indian Miners in the California Gold Rush 28  
by James J. Rawls

San Francisco's Workingmen Respond to the Modern City 46  
by Neil L. Shumsky

Workingmen's Party of California 58

REVIEWS

Women's History: A Listing of West Coast  
Archival and Manuscript Sources *Part I* 74

Book Reviews 83

California Check List 94

NUMBER 2—SUMMER 1976

The Politics of California Water:  
Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Aqueduct, 1900-1927  
*Part II* 98

by William L. Kahrl

The City That Was 121  
by Roger Olmsted

The California National Guard  
in the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906 137  
by James J. Hudson

The Search for a Southern Overland Route to California 150  
by Harlan H. Hague

"Penny Papers": The Vanderbilt Newspaper Crusade 162  
by Alan Hensher

REVIEWS

Women's History: A Listing of West Coast  
Archival and Manuscript Sources *Part II* 170

Book Reviews 186

California Check List 190

NUMBER 3—FALL 1976

Gertrude Atherton and the New Woman 194

by Carolyn Forrey

Schools Behind Barbed Wire 210

by Charles Wollenberg

London Album: A California Legend at Work and Play 218

by Carolyn Willson

Gold! But How Much? 246

by Thomas Senior Berry

The Cigar Box Papers:

A Local View of the Centennial Electoral Scandals 256

by Roger Olmsted

REVIEWS

Sources in the Streets: The Sather Gate Handbill Collection  
of the University of California Archives 270

Book Reviews 274

California Check List 282

NUMBER 4—WINTER 1976

Great Expectations: The Business Correspondence of  
"Gibbons & Lammot," Gold Rush Black Powder Merchants 290

by James W. White

California by Motor Stage 306

by Eli Bail

A New Look at the Founding of Old Los Angeles 326

by Harry Kelsey

Kahn of California 340

by Burton Alan Boxerman

Manhole Covers: Artifacts in the Streets 352

by Mimi and Robert Melnick

REVIEWS

Serving West Coast Collectors: The Book Club of California 364

Book Reviews 367

In Memoriam 376

California Check List 379

Volume Contents 385

Index 389





# California Historical Quarterly

---

VOLUME LV 1976

## Index

Compiled by Anna Marie and Everett G. Hager

California Historical Society

SAN FRANCISCO • SAN MARINO





- Adams, Lester, 167  
 Addams, Jane, 201  
*Agriculture in the Development of the Far West*, ed. by James H. Shideler, rev., 92-93  
 Alabama Gates, Owens Valley, 110  
 Alexander, George, 19, 21, 98-99, 100, 101, 102  
 Alhambra Foundry, 357  
*Alsacia* (bus), 318, 319  
*Alta California* (newsp.), 248, 262, 293  
 The American Alliance (1874), 258  
 American Federation of Labor, 17  
 American Motor Transportation Company, 322  
 American River, *see* "Gold Diggers: Indian Miners in the California Gold Rush," 28-45  
*American Sewerage Practice* (pub.), 353  
*A. M. Lawrence* (ves.), 298, 299  
 Ando, Takuda, 213  
 Andrews, Rachel, photo., 175  
*Antelope* (ves.), 247  
 Anthony, Susan B., photo., 175  
 Anza, Juan Bautista de, 26-27, 155  
 Apache Indians, 160  
*Argonaut* (pub.), 201  
 Argüello, José Dario, 333, 335  
 Argüello, Luis, 200  
 Arizona, 150  
 Armijo, Antonio, 158  
 Armijo, Manuel, 158  
 Army of the West, 158  
 Aspasia (of Athens), 204  
 Atherton, Dominga de Goni, 200  
 Atherton, Faxon Dean, 200  
 Atherton, George, 199, 200, 201, 205  
 Atherton, Gertrude, *see* "Gertrude Atherton and the New Woman," 194-209  
 Atherton, Muriel, 200; *see also* Russell, Muriel Atherton  
 Austin, Dwight, 322  
 Ayala, Juan Manuel de, 26-27
- Bail, Eli, "California by Motor Stage," 306-325  
 Bainer, Roy, *The Engineering of Abundance: An Oral History Memoir*, rev., 85-86  
 Baker Iron Works, Los Angeles, 355, 356  
 Baker, Newton, D., 347  
 Bancroft, Hubert Howe, 124
- Bank of California, 198  
 Barnes, Eleanor, 164  
 Barth, Gunther, rev. of Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible: William C. Ralston and Early San Francisco*, 276-277  
 Bay View Distillery, 256  
 Banegas, José, 330, 336  
 Banegas, María Máxima Aguilar, 330  
 Beard, Mary, 204, 207  
 Bell, Reginald, 211  
 Benjamin, Harry, 207  
 Berkowitz, Henry, 348  
 Berry, Thomas Senior, "Gold! But How Much?" 246-255  
 Bidwell, Anna K. (Mrs. John Bidwell), photo., 175  
 Bidwell, James, 33, 34, 38  
 Bishop, Calif., 106-108  
*Black Oxen* (novel), 207  
*Black Powder and Hand Steel: Miners and Machines on the Old Western Frontier*, by Otis E. Young, Jr., rev., 373  
 Blaine, James G., 257  
 Blair, Tom and Neil Morgan, *Yesterday's San Diego*, rev., 375  
 Bledsoe, Benjamin, 166  
 Blum, Ellie Holbrook, photo., 175  
 Board of Water Commissioners, 3  
 Boddy, Manchester, 168  
 Borderland Transportation Company, 316, 319  
 Bohn, David, rev. of Haas, *Muybridge, Man in Motion*, 277-278  
 Book Club of California, *see* "Serving West Coast Collectors: The Story of the Book Club of California," 364-366  
*Bookman* (pub.), 202  
 Borthwick, J. D., 38  
 Boxerman, Burton A., "Kahn of California," 340-351  
 Boyle Heights Club, 16  
 Bradley, Joseph P., 265  
 Brand, L. C., 11  
 Brant, Otto, 100  
*British Weekly* (pub.), 202  
 Brockway, D. M., 308  
 Bronson, William, *obituary*, by Richard Reinhardt, 377  
 Brown, James S., 29  
 Bryan, William Jennings, 341, 344  
 Bucareli y Ursúa, Antonio María, *see* "The Viceregal Order for the Founding of San Francisco," 26-27
- Buffum, E. Gould, 32, 36, 42  
 Burbank, Luther, photo., 239  
 Buses, *see* "California by Motor Stage," 306-325  
 Butler, Ben, 260  
 Butler, Phyllis F., *The Valley of Santa Clara: Historic Buildings, 1792-1920*, rev., 278-279
- Caballero, Felix, 156  
*California: A Bicentennial History*, by David Lavender, rev., 280-281  
 California Body Building Company, 314  
 "California by Motor Stage," by Eli Bail, 306-325  
 "California Check List," comp. by Gary F. Kurutz, 190-191, 282-283, 379-380; comp. by Jay Williar, 94-95  
*California: The Great Exception*, by Carey McWilliams, rev., 371  
 "The California National Guard in the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906," by James J. Hudson, 137-149  
 California Railroad Commission, 313  
 California Suffrage Association, 175  
 California Transit Company, 314, 315, 322  
 California Writers Club, 207  
 Campbell, Mrs. Marriner, photo., 175  
 Campbell, Richard, 157  
 Camero, Manuel, 331, 335  
 Camero, María Thomasa, 331  
 Camp Forrest Relief Committee, 146  
*Carisca* (ves.), 300  
 Carson, James, 32, 35, 36  
 Carson, Kit, 158, 159  
 Carson, Moses, 158  
 Carte, Gene E., and Elaine H. Carte, *Police Reform in the United States: The Era of August Vollmer, 1905-1932*, rev., 274  
 Caughey, John, rev. of Pflueger, ed., *Charles C. Chapman: The Career of a Creative Californian, 1853-1944*, 371-373  
 Chandler, Harry, 100, 163, 164, 166  
 Chandler, Zach, 262  
 Chaney, William H., 219  
*Charles C. Chapman: The Career of a Creative Californian, 1853-1944*, ed. by Donald H. Pflueger, rev., 371-373  
*Charles F. Lummis: The Man and His West*, by



- Turbesé Lummis Fiske and Keith Lummis, rev., 274-276  
*Chavez and the Farm Workers*, by Ronald B. Taylor, rev., 86-87  
*The Chicano*, ed. by Norris Hundley, Jr., rev., 187-188  
*Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California*, by George Harwood Phillips, rev., 87-88  
Chinese Camp, Calif., 112  
Chinese laborers, 51-52, 53  
Chopin, Kate, 195  
Chowchilla Indians, 37  
Churchill, Douglas, 167  
"The Cigar-Box Papers," by Roger Olmsted, 256-269  
Citizens' Committee of Fifty, San Francisco, 142  
Clark, Austin, 38  
Clark, Walter Van Tilburg, ed., *The Journals of Alfred Doten, 1849-1903*, rev., 90-91  
Clausen, J. C., 7, 8  
Clover, Samuel T., 16  
Clyman, James, 31  
Colfax, Schuyler, 260  
Colfax, Calif., 254  
Coloma, see "Gold Diggers: Indian Miners in the California Gold Rush," 28-45 *passim*  
Colorado River, 153-159 *passim*  
*Conflict on the Northwest Coast: American-Russian Rivalry in the Pacific Northwest, 1790-1867*, by Howard I. Kushner, rev., 88-89  
Conkling, Roscoe, 260  
Connecticut Mining and Trading Company, 31  
Cooke, Philip St. George, 158, 159  
Coolidge, Calvin, 166, 352, 353  
Cooper, Sidney, 158  
Coronel, Antonio Franco, 31, 34  
Cortéz, Josef Antonio, 332  
Cox, Martha Heasley, rev. of Valjean, John Steinbeck: *The Errant Knight*, 91-92  
Coyle, Alice Sheridan, photo., 80  
Crampton, C. Gregory, ed., *The Mariposa Indian War, 1850-1851: Diaries of Robert Eccleston*, rev., 92  
Crespi, Juan, 326-339 *passim*  
Crime, San Francisco, 50  
Croix, Teodoro de, 328, 332, 336  
Crown Carriage Works, 308  
Cryer, George E., 109, 166  
Daniels, Roger, *The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans*, rev., 367-368  
Darrow, Clarence, 21  
Davis, David, 264-265  
Day, Benjamin, 158  
*Daybooks* (novel), 207  
Daylor, William, 31, 32, 40, 42  
*The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans*, by Roger Daniels, rev., 367-368  
Delavan, James, 34, 42  
Democratic Party, see "The Cigar-Box Papers," 256-269  
deStael, Madame, 204, 205, 207  
DeYoung, M. H., 142, 144, 145  
Díaz, Porfirio, 343  
Digger Indians, 29  
Dillon, Richard H., rev. of Crampton, ed., *The Mariposa Indian War, 1850-1851: Diaries of Robert Eccleston*, 92  
Dinan, Chief of Police, San Francisco, 142, 146  
Domínguez, Atanasio, 155, 156  
Donahue, Peter, 129  
Donovan, Lynn Bonfield and Joan Hoff Wilson, "Women's History: A Listing of West Coast Archival and Manuscript Sources," 74-83, 170-185  
Douthit, Nathan, rev. of Carte, *Police Reform in the United States: The Era of August Vollmer, 1905-1932*, 274  
Dreyer, Peter, *A Gardener Touched with Genius: The Life of Luther Burbank*, rev., 188-189  
*Dryade* (ves.), 300, 302  
DuPont, Alfred Victor, 291-294 *passim*  
DuPont, Henry, 291, 293, 297  
DuPont Powder Mills, 290-305 *passim*  
Dye, Job F., 158  
Earl, E. T., 11  
Earthquakes, see "The California National Guard in the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906," 137-149; "The City That Was," 121-136  
Eaton, Fred, 2-7 *passim*, 105, 106, 115; port., 4, 107  
Egan, Ferol, rev., of Clark, ed., *The Journals of Alfred Doten, 1849-1903*, 90-91  
E. I. DuPont de Nemours & Company, 293-305 *passim*  
El Dorado County, 38  
El Dorado System (1920's), 320  
Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware, 293  
Elliott, John M., 12  
*The Emporium*, San Francisco, 134; photo., 139  
*The Engineering of Abundance: An Oral History Memoir*, by Roy Bainer, rev., 85-86  
Escalante, Silvestre Vélez de, 155, 156, 157  
Executive Order 9066, 210  
*Expositor* (pub.), 202  
Fageol Safety Coaches, 324  
Fages, Pedro, 156, 331, 332  
Fairbanks, Douglas, Sr., 163  
The Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco, 138  
Federal Reserve Board, 344  
Félix, Victorino, 331, 33  
Felter, Addie, photo., 80  
Ferry Building, San Francisco, 137  
Fiske, Turbesé Lummis and Keith Lummis, *Charles F. Lummis: The Man and His West*, rev., 274-276  
Fitzpatrick, Thomas ("Broken Hand"), 159  
Flint, Frank P., 12, 13, 14, 15  
Flood, James, port., 66  
Forrey, Carolyn, "Gertrude Atherton and the New Woman," 194-209  
Fort Baker, 141  
Fort McDowell, 141  
Fort Mason, 138, 141, 142  
Fort Miley, 141  
Frank, French, photo., 229  
Franklin, Stephen, 198  
Fraser River, 253  
Freeman, John R., photo., 9  
Fuller, O. R., 313, 320  
Funston, Frederick, 141, 142, 147  
Garcés, Francisco, 153-160 *passim*  
*A Gardener Touched with Genius: The Life of Luther Burbank*, by Peter Dreyer, rev., 188-189  
Garfield, James A., 264  
Garland, William G., 19

- Garnett, L. A., 251  
 Gates, Paul W., rev. of Shideler, ed.,  
*Agriculture in the Development of the Far West*, 92-93  
 Gebhard, David and Harriette Von Breton,  
*L.A. in the Thirties: 1931-1941*, rev., 89-90  
 George, Henry, 257-258, 264  
 Georgeson, Duane L., 115  
 "Gertrude Atherton and the New Woman,"  
 by Carolyn Forrey, 194-209  
 Gibbons, Rodmond, see "Great Expectations: The Business Correspondence of 'Gibbons & Lammot,' Gold Rush Black Powder Merchants," 290-305  
 Gibbons and Lammot Agency, 290-305  
*passim*  
 Gibson, James R., *Imperial Russia in Frontier America: The Changing Geography of Supply of Russian America, 1784-1867*, rev., 369  
 Gila River, 150  
 Gillette, Governor, photo., 107  
 Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, 201  
 Glass-Owen Federal Reserve Act, 344  
 Glen Ellen, Calif., 227-245 *passim*  
 Globe Iron Works, Stockton, 355  
 "Gold! But How Much?" by Thomas Senior Berry, 246-255  
 "Gold Diggers: Indian Miners in the California Gold Rush," by James J. Rawls, 28-45  
 Golden Gate Park, 124, 138  
 Gold Rush, see "Gold! But How Much?" 246-255; "Gold Diggers: Indian Miners in the California Gold Rush," 28-45; "Great Expectations: The Business Correspondence of 'Gibbons & Lammot,' Gold Rush Black Powder Merchants," 290-305  
 Goldwyn, Samuel, 202  
 Gómez-Quíñones, Juan, rev. of Hundley, Jr., *The Chicano*, 187-188  
 Gonzáles, Diego, 333  
 Good Government League, Los Angeles, 19  
 Graham, Lawrence P., 159  
 Graham, S. C., 101-102  
 Grant, Ulysses S., 256-269 *passim*  
 The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity School, 214  
 "Great Expectations: The Business Correspondence of 'Gibbons & Lammot,' Gold Rush Black Powder Merchants," by James W. White, 290-305  
 Greely, A. W., 137, 138, 142, 143, 147  
 Green, Thomas J., 30  
 Greyhound Lines, 322  
 Guerrero, Julián, 331  
 Gunpowder, see "Great Expectations: The Business Correspondence of 'Gibbons & Lammot,' Gold Rush Black Powder Merchants," 290-305 *passim*  
 Haas, Robert B., *Muybridge, Man in Motion*, rev., 277-278  
 Hague, Harlan H., "The Search for a Southern Overland Route to California," 150-61  
 Haiwee Reservoir, Calif., 106  
 Hallidie, Andrew S., 127  
 Hamilton, Shawn, 236  
 Handbills, see "Sources in the Streets: The Sather Gate Handbill Collection of the University of California Archives," 270-273  
 Harding, George Laban, *obituary* by Oscar Lewis, 376  
 Harding, Warren G., 349, 350  
 Harland, Helen, 175  
 Harmon Gymnasium, Berkeley, 227  
*Harper's Weekly* (pub.), 258, 262  
 Harriman, E. H., 100, 144  
 Harriman, Job, 17, 21  
 Harris, Benjamin Butler, 37  
 Hayes, A. L., 316  
 Hayes, Rutherford B., 257-268 *passim*  
 Haynes, John Randolph, 10  
 Hayward, Calif., 142  
 Hazard Company, 295, 296, 304  
 Hearst, William Randolph, 8, 11, 12, 163, 164, 166  
*Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp*, by Douglas W. Nelson, rev., 367-368  
 Heizer, Robert F., rev. of Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes: A Tribal History*, 87-88; rev. of Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California*, 87-88  
 Henderson, F. G., 102  
 Hendricks, Thomas A., 258  
 Hensher, Alan, "Penny Papers": The Vanderbilt Newspaper Crusade," 162-169  
 Hernández, Justo, 332  
 Highways, see "California by Motor Stage," 306-325  
 Hitchcock, Ethan A., 12, 14  
 Hittell, John, 250, 251  
 Hollywood, 100  
 Homestead Act, 98  
 Hooker, J. D., 16  
 Horn, Gertrude Franklin, see Atherton, Gertrude  
 Horn, Thomas, 197  
 Houghton, A. D., 10  
 Houghton, Samuel G., *A Trace of Desert Waters: The Great Basin Story*, rev., 281  
 House, Colonel, 346  
 Houston, Jeanne Wakatsuki, 213, 214  
 Howell, F. D., 320  
 Hudson, James J., "The California National Guard in the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906," 137-149  
 Huerta, Victoriano, 343, 344  
 Hundley, Jr., Norris, *The Chicano*, rev., 187-188; *Water and the West: The Colorado River Compact and the Politics of Water in the American West*, rev., 84  
 Huntington, Henry, 3, 10, 12, 13, 100; port., 11  
 Ikeda, Goroku, 217  
*The Illustrated Daily Open Letter* (newsp.), 62-63  
*Illustrated Daily Tab* (newsp.), 164-168  
*The Illustrated Wasp* (newsp.), see "The Workingmen's Party of California," 58-73  
*Imperial Russia in Frontier America: The Changing Geography of Supply of Russian America, 1784-1867*, by James R. Gibson, rev., 369  
 Imperial Valley Automobile Stage, 316  
 Indians, see "Gold Diggers: Indian Miners in the California Gold Rush," 28-45  
 Ingleside Race Track, San Francisco, 138  
 Irvine, J. B., 10  
 Irwin, Will, 122  
 Jackson, David E., 158  
 Japanese-American Bank, 146  
 Japanese-American Citizens League, 213  
 Japanese-Americans, see "Schools Behind Barbed Wire," 210-217



- The Japanese Question (1907), 349  
*Java* (ves.), 298  
 John Steinbeck: *The Errant Knight*, by Nelson Valjean, rev., 91-92  
 Johns, Cloudesley, 228  
 Johnson, Edward C., *Walker River Paiutes: A Tribal History*, rev., 87-88  
 Johnson, Harvey, 167  
 Johnson, Theodore T., 40-41  
 Johnston, William G., 34  
*The Journals of Alfred Doten, 1849-1903*, ed. by Walter Van Tilburg Clark, rev., 90-91  
 Juárez, Francisco, 332
- Kahn, Julius, see "Kahn of California," 340-351  
 Kahn, Mrs. Julius (Florence Prag), 340, 351  
 "Kahn of California," by Burton A. Boxerman, 340-351  
 Kahrl, William L., "The Politics of California Water: Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Aqueduct, 1900-1927," 2-25, 98-120; rev. of Matson, *William Mulholland: A Forgotten Forefather*, 369-370  
 Kalloch, Isaac, 53-54, 68; port., 66  
 Kantor, J. R. K., "Sources in the Streets: The Sather Gate Handbill Collection of the University of California Archives," 270-273  
 Katamayer, Soji, 213  
 Kearney, Denis, port., 59; 63  
 Kearny, Stephen Watts, 158, 159  
 Keller, G. Frederick, see "The Cigar-Box Papers," 256-269  
 Kelly, William, 36  
 Kelsey, Harry, "A New Look at the Founding of Old Los Angeles," 326-339  
 Kerchoff, William G., 11, 15  
 Kibei, 213  
 Kimes, William F., rev. of Sargent, *Yosemite and Its Innkeepers*, 373-375  
 Kino, Eusebio Francisco, 150, 153  
 Kitano, Harry, 212, 214, 217  
 Kittredge, Charmian, see London, Mrs. Jack  
 Klu Klux Klan, 109  
 Kokut Indians, 37  
 Korbel, Anton, 256  
 Korbel, Francis, 256  
 Korbel, Joseph, 256  
 Koster, John A., 138, 143, 147
- Kraft, Mabel, photo., 175  
 Krag-Jorgensen Rifles, 346  
 Kurutz, Gary F., compiler, "California Check List," 190-191, 282-283, 379-380; rev. of Fiske and Lummis, *Charles F. Lummis: The Man and His West*, 274-276  
 Kushner, Howard I., *Conflict on the Northwest Coast: American-Russian Rivalry in the Pacific Northwest, 1790-1867*, rev., 88-89
- Labor & Laborers, see "San Francisco's Workingmen Respond to the Modern City," 46-57; "The Workingmen's Party of California," 58-73  
 LaFollette, Robert, 166  
*L.A. in the Thirties: 1931-1941*, by David Gebhard and Harriette Von Breton, rev., 89-90  
 Lammot, Robert, see "Great Expectations: The Business Correspondence of Gibbons & Lammot," Gold Rush Black Powder Merchants," 290-305  
 Lara, José de, 330, 333, 335, 36  
 Lara, María Antonia Campos, 330  
 Larkin, Edgar, photo., 238  
 Lasch, Christopher, 200  
 Laso de la Vega, Ramón, 327, 328  
 Lasuén, Fermín Francisco de, 328  
 Lauck, Joseph B., 138, 145, 146  
 Lavender, David, *California: A Bicentennial History*, rev., 280-281; *Nothing Seemed Impossible: William C. Ralston and Early San Francisco*, rev., 276-277  
 Law Line Wharf, San Francisco, 247  
 League for Industrial Democracy, 349  
 League of Nations, 348, 349  
 Lee, Bradner Wells, 19  
 Leeper, David Rohrer, 38  
 Leong, Monfoon, *Number One Son*, rev., 279  
 Lewis, Oscar, Obituary for George Laban Harding, 376; "Serving West Coast Collectors: The Story of the Book Club of California," 364-366  
 Leyva, Agustín, 331, 333  
 Lillard, Richard G., rev. of Houghton, *A Trace of Desert Waters: The Great Basin Story*, 281  
 Limón, Cayetano, 333  
 Lingenfelter, Richard E., rev. of Young, *Black Powder and Hand Steel: Miners and Machines on the Old Western Frontier*, 373  
 Lippincott, Joseph Barlow, 2-25 *passim*, 110  
 Llewellyn Iron Works, Los Angeles, 355, 356  
 "London Album: A California Legend at Work and Play," by Carolyn Willson, 218-245  
 London, Bess, 222, 223  
 London, Elizabeth Maddern, 222  
 London, Charmian Kittredge, 219-245 *passim*; (Mrs. Jack London)  
 London, Jack, see "London Album: A California Legend at Work and Play," 218-245  
 London, Joan, 222, 223  
*London Times* (newsp.), 247  
 Long Valley, Calif., 5, 8, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115  
 López, Gaspar, 332  
 Los Angeles, see "A New Look at the Founding of Old Los Angeles," 326-339; "Penny Papers": The Vanderbilt Newspaper Crusade," 162-169; "The Politics of California Water: Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Aqueduct, 1900-1929," 2-25, 98-120  
 Los Angeles Aqueduct, map, 13; 2-25, 98-120  
 Los Angeles Board of Education, 213  
*Los Angeles Daily News* (newsp.), see "Penny Papers": The Vanderbilt Newspaper Crusade," 162-169  
*Los Angeles Evening News* (newsp.), 16  
*Los Angeles Examiner* (newsp.), 8-12 *passim*, 162, 163, 164  
 Los Angeles Farm and Milling Company, 100  
 Los Angeles Gas & Electric Corp., 15  
*Los Angeles Record* (newsp.), 109, 166  
 Los Angeles Suburban Homes Company, 100  
*Los Angeles Times* (newsp.), 2-25 *passim*; 100, 110, 162-168 *passim*  
 Los Angeles Union Stage Depot, 321  
 Los Angeles Water Company, 2, 3, 5  
 Lotta's Fountain, San Francisco, 124  
 Lovo, José, 332  
 Luckingham, Brad, rev. of Staniford, *The Pattern of California History*, 186-187  
 Luhan, Mabel Dodge, 205  
 Lummis, Keith and Turbesé Lummis Fiske, *Charles F. Lummis: The Man and His West*, rev., 274-276  
 Lyman, Albert, 31  
 Lyman, Chester, 36

# Index

- McClure, Wilbur F., 110  
M'Collum, William, 34, 40  
McCoon, Perry, 31  
McLean, W. F., 301  
McNamara, James B., 21  
McNamra, John Joseph, 21  
McWilliams, Carey, *California: The Great Exception*, rev., 371; rev. of Lavender, *California: A Bicentennial History*, 280-281  
Maddern, Elizabeth, see London, Elizabeth Maddern  
Madero, Francisco, 343  
Maidu Indians, 28, 29, 38-39  
Malone, Dudley Field, 168  
Manhole covers, see "Manhole Covers: Artifacts in the Streets," 352-363  
"Manhole Covers: Artifacts in the Streets," by Mimi and Robert Melnick, 352-363  
Manzanar, Calif., 211, 213, 214  
*The Mariposa Indian War, 1850-1851: Diaries of Robert Eccleston*, ed. by C. Gregory Crampton, rev., 92  
Marquez, Ernest, *Port Los Angeles: A Phenomenon of the Railroad Era*, rev., 279-280  
Marsh, John, 33  
Marshall, James, 29, 30, 39, 40  
Martinez, Xavier, photo., 238  
Mason, Richard B., 31, 32  
Mathes, W. Michael, "The Viceregal Order for the Founding of San Francisco," 26-27  
Matson, Robert W., *William Mulholland: A Forgotten Forefather*, rev., 369-370  
Mechanics' Monument, San Francisco, 129  
Melnick, Mimi and Robert, "Manhole Covers: Artifacts in the Streets," 352-363  
Merced River, 37  
Merchants and Manufacturers Association, 17, 21  
Mesa, Ann Gertrudis López, 330  
Mesa, Antonio, 330-336 *passim*  
Mesa, Rafael, 331, 332  
Metropolitan Water District, 106, 113, 116  
Mexico, 343, 344  
Miller, Joaquin, 202  
Mills College, 207  
Mission Rock, San Francisco, 299  
Mission San Xavier del Bac, Ariz., 153  
Miwok Indians, 34  
Modoc County, 211  
*The Monterey Californian* (newsp.), 31  
Moorehead, Max L., *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands*, rev., 84-85  
Moreno, José, 331, 332  
Moreno, María Guadalupe Gertrudis, 331  
Morgan, Neil and Tom Blair, *Yesterday's San Diego*, rev., 375  
Mormon Battalion, 158, 159  
Mormon Diggins, Calif., 31  
*The Motor Carrier* (pub.), 307  
Motor Carrier Act (1917), 313  
Motor Carrier Association, 306-325 *passim*  
Motor Transit Company, 309, 320, 321, 322, 324  
Mott, Frank K., 138  
Mountain Automobile Line, San Bernardino, 309  
Mulholland, William, photo., 9, 111; 100-106 *passim*; See "The Politics of California Water: Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Aqueduct, 1900-1927," 2-25  
Murderers' Bar, 39  
Murphy, John M., 32, 33  
Muscatine, Doris, *Old San Francisco: The Biography of a City from Early Days to the Earthquake*, rev., 186  
Muscle Shoals, Alabama, 349  
*Muybridge, Man in Motion*, by Robert B. Haas, rev., 277-278  
Myers, Joseph, 146  
Nagai, Kigako, 213  
Nast, Thomas, 258-269 *passim*  
*The Nation* (pub.), 256, 261  
National Academy of American Literature, 207  
National Association for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, 346  
National Defense Act (1916), 346, 349  
National Defense League, 344  
National Guard, see California National Guard  
National Irrigation Congress (1907), 98  
National Reclamation Service, 2-25 *passim*  
National Student League, 270  
Navarro, José Antonio, 330  
Navarro, María Regina Dorotea, 330  
Nelson, Douglas W., *Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp*, rev., 367-368  
Neve, Felipe de, 326-339 *passim*  
Neve, Phelipa Theresa de, 328  
Newell, F. H., 5, 7  
"A New Look at the Founding of Old Los Angeles," by Harry Kelsey, 326-339  
Newspapers, see "Penny Papers": The Vanderbilt Newspaper Crusade," 162-169; "The Cigar-Box Papers," 256-269; "Sources in the Streets: The Sather Gate Handbill Collection of the University of California Archives," 270-273  
*New York Herald* (newsp.), 162  
*New York Sun* (newsp.), 205  
*New York Times* (newsp.), 162, 202, 261, 262, 347, 348  
Nicoll, William Robertson, 202  
Nisei, see "Schools Behind Barbed Wire," 210-217 *passim*  
Nob Hill, photo., 58  
Norris, George, 349  
Northcliffe, Lord, 162  
*Nothing Seemed Impossible: William C. Ralston and Early San Francisco*, by David Laverder, rev., 276-277  
Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de la Porticiúcula, see "A New Look at the Founding of Old Los Angeles," 326-339  
*Number One Son*, by Monfoon Leong, rev., 279  
Oakland, Calif., 219, 220, 227  
*Oakland Tribune* (newsp.), 137  
O'Brien, C. Bickford, rev. of Gibson, *Imperial Russia in Frontier America: The Changing Geography of Supply of Russian America, 1784-1867*, 369; rev. of Kushner, *Conflict on the Northwest Coast: American-Russian Rivalry in the Pacific Northwest, 1790-1867*, 88-89  
Occidental Hotel, San Francisco, 138  
Olancho, Calif., 114  
*Old San Francisco: The Biography of a City from Early Days to the Earthquake*, by Doris Muscatine, rev., 186  
Olmsted, Roger, "The Cigar-Box Papers," 256-269; "The City That Was," photographic essay, 121-136  
Oraibi, 155  
Oregon Historical Society, Women's History Research Archives, 176  
Oregonians, 38-39, 40, 41, 42



- Ornduff, Robert, rev. of Dreyer, *A Gardener Touched with Genius: The Life of Luther Burbank*, 188-189
- Orphans, Spiro, photo., 239
- Ortega, José Francisco, 332, 336
- Otis, Harrison Gray, see "The Politics of California Water: Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Aqueduct, 1900-1927," 2-25; 100, photo., 104
- Our World (pub.), 213
- Overland Monthly (pub.), 222
- Overland routes, see "The Search for a Southern Overland Route to California," 150-161
- Owens Valley, Calif., see "The Politics of California Water: Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Aqueduct, 1900-1927," 2-25, 98-120
- Owens Valley Property Owners Protective Association, 111, 112
- Pacheco, Romualdo, 156
- Pacific Electric Railway, 164, 166
- Pacific Electric Railway, 324
- Pacific Greyhound Lines, 322, 324
- Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph Company, 80
- Palmantier, W. G., 146
- Palms, Calif., 103
- Palou, Francisco, see "A New Look at the Founding of Old Los Angeles," 326-339 *passim*
- Panama Canal, 341, 343, 344
- Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 342-342
- Pangua, Francisco, see "The Viceregal Order for the Founding of San Francisco," 26-27
- Pardee, George C., 138, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146
- Parker, E. H., 295
- The Pattern of California History*, by Edward Staniford, rev., 186-187
- Pattie, James Ohio, 157
- Pattie, Sylvester, 157
- Peerless Automobile Stage Association, Inc., 324
- Pendergast's Foundry, San Francisco, photo., 49
- "Penny Papers": The Vanderbilt Newspaper Crusade, by Alan Hensher, 162-169
- Perkins, William, 34
- Pflueger, Donald H., ed., *Charles C. Chapman: The Career of a Creative Californian*, 1853-1944, rev., 371-373
- Phelan, James D., 142
- Philadelphia Mint, 248
- Phillips, George Harwood, *Chiefs and Challenged: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California*, rev., 87-88
- Phoenix Iron Works, Oakland, 356
- Pickford, Mary, 163
- Pickwick Motor Coach Works, 322, 324
- Pickwick Stages, 310-322 *passim*
- Pima Indians, 154, 158
- Pimeria Alta (map), 152
- Pinchot, Gifford, 14, 98
- Pioneer Yellowway System, 322
- Placer Times and Transcript (newsp.), 39
- Placerville, Calif., 32, 34, 36
- Pobladores, see "A New Look at the Founding of Old Los Angeles," 326-339
- Police Reform in the United States: *The Era of August Vollmer, 1905-1932*, by Gene E. Carte and Elaine H. Carte, rev., 274
- Politics, see "The Cigar-Box Papers," 256-269; "Kahn of California," 340-351; "Sources in the Streets: The Sather Gate Handbill Collection of the University of California Archives," 270-273; "San Francisco's Workingmen Respond to the Modern City," 46-57; "The Workingmen's Party of California, 1877-1882," 58-73
- "The Politics of California Water: Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Aqueduct, 1900-1927," by William L. Kahrl, 2-25, 98-120
- Porciúncula River, Los Angeles, 327, 328, 333
- Port Los Angeles: *A Phenomenon of the Railroad Era*, by Ernest Marquez, rev., 279-280
- Pourade, Richard, rev. of Morgan and Blair, *Yesterday's San Diego*, 375
- Prag, Florence, see Kahn, Mrs. Julius
- Prag, Mary, 340
- The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands*, by Max L. Moorehead, rev., 84-85
- Proskauer, Margaret S., rev., of Gebhard and Von Breton, *L.A. in the Thirties: 1931-1941*, 89-90
- Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 184-185
- Public Service Commission, Los Angeles, 99, 102, 109-110, 111, 113
- Quintero, Luis, 331, 332, 333, 335
- Quintero, María Petra Rubio, 331
- Quinton-Code-Hamlin Report, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103
- Ralston, William C., 198
- Ramírez, Nicolasa, 327; see also Soto, Mrs. Guillermo
- Rancho Los Medanos, 33
- Rawls, James J., "Gold Diggers: Indian Miners in the California Gold Rush," 28-45
- Razzle Dazzle (ves.), 228
- Reading, Pierson B., 33, 38
- Reading's Bar, 38, 39
- Récamier, Madame, 204, 205, 207
- Reclamation, see "The Politics of California Water: Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Aqueduct, 1900-1927," 98-120
- Reid, James C., 261-262
- Reinhardt, Richard, *Obituary* for William Bronson, 377
- Republican Party, World War I, 340-351 *passim*; "The Cigar-Box Papers," 256-269
- Richardsin, Friend W., 110
- Rincon Point, 298
- Riordan, Frank, 146
- Rivera y Moncada, Fernando de, 26-27, 328, 330, 332, 333
- Roamer (ves.), 228
- Robidoux, Antoine, 159
- Robidoux, Michel, 157
- Rodríguez, Antonio Miranda, 331, 332, 336
- Rodríguez, Joaquín, 332
- Rodríguez, Juana Simona, 331
- Rodríguez, Lucinda, 331
- Rodríguez, María Rosalía Noriega, 330
- Rodríguez, Pablo, 330, 336
- Rodríguez, Pedro Pablo, 331
- Rodríguez, Vicente, 331
- Rohner, Arkansas, 213
- Rolle, Andrew, rev. of Marquez, *Port Los Angeles: A Phenomenon of the Railroad Era*, 279-280
- Rolph, James, 164; photo., 167

## Index

- Romero, José, 156  
 Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 210  
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 14, 15, 98, 116, 211  
*Rosaline* (ves.), 300  
 Rosas, Alejandro, 330, 336  
 Rosas, Basilio, 330, 335, 336  
 Rosas, Juana Rodríguez, 330  
 Rosas, María Manuela Calixtra, 330  
 Rose, Henry, 102  
 Ross, John E., 40  
 Rowland, John, 158  
 Ruiz, Fructuoso María, 332  
 Russell, Muriel Atherton, 196  
 Ryan, William Redmond, 32
- Sacramento Union* (newsp.), 112, 112, 116  
 Samish, Arthur H., 307  
 San Andreas Fault, 114  
*San Diego's Yesterdays*, by Neil Morgan and Tom Blair, rev., 375  
 San Fernando Mission Land Company, 11, 99-100  
 San Fernando Valley, Calif., 99, 100, 101  
 Saint Francis Dam, 114  
 San Francisco, *see* "The California National Guard in the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906," 137-149; "The Cigar-Box Papers," 256-269; "The City That Was," 121-136; "Great Expectations: The Business Correspondence of 'Gibbons & Lammut,' Gold Rush Black Powder Merchants," 290-305; "Kahn of California," 340-351 *passim*; "The Viceregal Order for the Founding of San Francisco," 26-27  
 San Francisco Art Institute, photo., 75  
 San Francisco Bay (1775-1776), 26-27  
*San Francisco Call* (newsp.), 98, 109, 145, 342  
*San Francisco Chronicle* (newsp.), 10, 11, 143, 144, 145  
*San Francisco Herald* (newsp.), 163, 164, 167, 168  
*San Francisco Labor Clarion* (newsp.), 163-164  
 San Francisco Mint, 341  
*San Francisco Prices Current* (pub.), 249, 250, 253  
 San Francisco School Board, 210-211, 217  
 San Francisco Telephone Exchange, 80  
 "San Francisco's Workingmen Respond to the Modern City," by Neil L. Shumsky, 46-57
- San Francisquito Canyon Dam, 113  
 San Gabriel, Calif., 326-339 *passim*  
 Sanger, Margaret, 201  
 St. Luke's Hospital, San Francisco, 138  
 Sansci, 217  
 San Xavier del Bac, Ariz., 158  
 Sargent, Mrs. A. A., photo., 175  
 Sartori, Joseph, 11  
 Sargent, Shirley, *Yosemite and Its Innkeepers*, rev., 373-377  
 Sather Gate, Berkeley, 270-273  
*Saturday Night* (pub.), 168  
 Savage, James D., 37  
 Schaeffer, Luther, 28, 35, 37  
 Schmitz, E. E., 141, 142, 144, 146, 147  
 "Schools Behind Barbed Wire," by Charles Wollenberg, 210-219  
 Schuyler, James D., photo., 9  
 Scott, G. M., 143  
 "The Search for a Southern Overland Route to California," by Harlan H. Hague, 150-161  
 Selective Service Act (1917), 340, 347  
 Sepúlveda, Francisco Javier, 331  
 Serra, Junípero, 155  
 "Serving West Coast Collectors: The Story of the Book Club of California," by Oscar Lewis, 364-366  
 Shaw, Anna Howard, photo., 175  
 Sherman, John, 264  
 Sherman, Moses, 100  
 Sherman, William Tecumseh, 31  
 Shideler, James H., ed., *Agriculture in the Development of the Far West*, rev., 92-93  
 Shumsky, Neil L., "San Francisco's Workingmen Respond to the Modern City," 46-57  
 Sierra National Forest Reserve, 98  
 Silva, Miguel, 332  
 Silva, María Pasquala, 332  
 Sinclair, John, 31, 32, 33, 42  
 Smith, Sylvester C., 12, 13  
 Smith, Thomas "Peg-leg," 157, 158  
*Snark* (ves.), 228, 242  
 Snyder, Meredith, 168  
 Sonora, 150, 155  
*Sophia Sutherland* (ves.), 228  
 Soto, Guillermo, 331, 332, 333, 335  
 Soto, Mrs. Guillermo (Nicolasa Ramírez), 331, 333  
 "Sources in the Streets: The Sather Gate Handbill Collection of the University of California Archives," by J. R. K. Kantor, 270-263  
 Southern California Edison Company, 14  
 Southern California Rapid Transit District, 324  
 Southern Pacific Railroad, 313, 322, 324  
 Southern Sierra Power Company, 105-106  
*Spectator* (pub.), 202  
*The Spray* (ves.), 228  
 Staniford, Edward, *The Pattern of California History*, rev., 186-187  
 Starr, Kevin, rev. of Butler, *The Valley of Santa Clara: Historic Buildings, 1792-1920*, 278-279  
 State Veterans Welfare Commission, 106  
 Stearns, Fred P., photo., 9  
 Stedman & Eldridge, San Francisco, 302, 303  
 Steffens, Lincoln, 21  
 Stein, Gertrude, 207  
 Steinach, Eugen, 207  
 Sterling, George, 236, photo., 237  
 Stevenson, James, 293  
 Stockton Iron Works, Calif., 355  
 Stockton Mining Company, 32  
 Strobridge, William F., rev. of Moorehead, *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands*, 84-85  
 Sublette, Milton, 157  
 Suñol, Antonio María, 31  
 Suñol & Company, 31  
 Swan, John, 34  
 Swing-Johnson Bill, 114
- Tacoma Public Library, Washington, Women's History Research archives, 179  
 Taft, Howard, 98, 341, 342, 343, 350  
 Tarabal, Sebastián, 155  
 Taylor, Paul S., rev. of Hundley, Jr., *Water and the West: The Colorado River Compact and the Politics of Water in the American West*, 84  
 Taylor, Ronald B., *Chavez and the Farm Workers*, rev., 86-87  
 Temple Emanu-El, San Francisco, 341  
 Temple, Thomas Workman, 328  
 Tilden, Samuel J., *see* "The Cigar-Box Papers," 256-269  
 Title Insurance & Trust Company, 100



- A Trace of Desert Waters: The Great Basin Story*, by Samuel G. Houghton, rev., 281  
 Transportation, see "California by Motor Stage," 306-325  
 Travis, W. E., 313, 314, 315, 322  
 Tule Lake, Calif., 211, 213, 214
- Union Iron Works, 356  
 Union League Club, San Francisco, 138  
 United Castings, 356  
 United States Mint, 248  
 University of British Columbia, Women's History Research archives, 185  
 University of California, Berkeley, see "Sources in the Streets: The Sather Gate Handbill Collection of the University of California Archives," 270-273; Women's History Sources, 171-172  
 University of California, Los Angeles, Women's History Sources, 172  
 University of California, San Francisco, Women's History Sources, 172  
 University of California, Santa Cruz, Women's History Sources, 172  
 University of Oregon, Women's History Research archives, 176-178  
 University of San Francisco, Women's History Sources, 173  
 University of Southern California, Women's History Sources, 173  
 University of the Pacific, Women's Historical Collections, 173-174  
 University of Washington Libraries, Women's History Research, 179-183  
 Uno, Edison, rev. of Daniels, *The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans*, 267-368; rev. of Nelson, *Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp*, 367-368; rev. of Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*, 367-368
- Valdéz, Eugenio, 332  
 Velásquez, Josef, 333  
 Valjean, Nelson, *John Steinbeck: The Errant Knight*, rev., 91-92  
*The Valley of Santa Clara: Historic Buildings, 1792-1920*, by Phyllis F. Butler, rev., 278-279
- Vanderbilt, Cornelius, Jr., see "Penny Papers": The Vanderbilt Newspaper Crusade," 162-169; photo., 167  
 "The Viceregal Order for the Founding of San Francisco," by W. Michael Mathes, 26-27  
 Villa, Miguel, 331, 332  
 Villavicencio, Antonio, 330, 336  
 Villavicencio, María de los Santos Severina, 330  
 Volstead Act, 348  
 Voorsanger, Jacob, 341
- Waldo, David, 158  
*Walker River Paiutes: A Tribal History*, by Edward C. Johnson, rev., 87-88  
 Wankowski, Robert, 138  
 War Relocation Agency (WRA), see "Schools Behind Barbed Wire," 210-217 *passim*  
 Ward, Samuel, 33  
 Warner, J. J., 158  
 Warren, Earl, 211  
 Washington State Historical Society, Women's History Research archives, 183  
 Washington State Library, Women's History Research archives, 183-184  
 Washington State University, Women's History Research archives, 184  
*The WASP* (pub.), see "The Cigar-Box Papers," 256-269  
 Wass, Molitor and Company, 248  
*Water and the West: The Colorado River Compact and the Politics of Water in the American West*, by Norris Hundley, Jr., rev., 84  
 Watterson, Mark, 109  
 Watterson, W. W., photo., 107  
 Watterson, Wilfred, 109, 111, 112, 113  
 Weaver, Pauline (Powell), 159  
 Weber, Charles M., 31, 32, 33, 38, 39  
 Weber's Creek, 31, 39, 40, 42  
 Weglyn, Michi Nishiura, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*, rev., 367-368  
 Wellock, William, 53  
 Wells Fargo, 249, 254; History Room, Women's Historical collections, 174  
 Western Jewish History Center of the Judah L. Magnes Memorial Museum, Women's History Archives, 174-175
- Wharton, Edith, 205  
 Wheatland Riots, 137  
 The Whiskey Ring, see "The Cigar-Box Papers," 256-269 *passim*  
 White Bus Line, 320  
 White, James W., "Great Expectations: The Business Correspondence of 'Gibbons & Lammot,' Gold Rush Black Powder Merchants," 290-305  
 Whitley, H. J., 100  
 Whitman Mission, Walla Walla, 40  
 Wik, Reynold M., rev. of Bainer, *The Engineering of Abundance: An Oral History Memoir*, 85-86  
 Willamette Valley, Oregon, 38  
*William Mulholland: A Forgotten Forefather*, by Robert W. Matson, rev., 369-370  
 Williams, Dan E., 112  
 Williams, Isaac, 158  
 Williar, Jay, comp., "California Check List," 94-95  
 Willson, Carolyn, "London Album: A California Legend at Work and Play," 218-245  
 Wilson, Benjamin David, 158  
 Wilson, Henry Lane, 343  
 Wilson, Joan Hoff and Lynn Bonfield Donovan, "Women's History: A Listing of West Coast Archival and Manuscript Sources," 74-83, 170-185  
 Wilson, Woodrow, 340-351 *passim*  
 Wimmer, Peter, 29  
 Wimmer, Mrs. Peter, 40  
 Wolf House, Glen Ellen, Calif., photos., 240-241, 242, 243  
 Wolfskill, William, 157, 158  
 Wollenberg, Charles, Reviews editor, 270-281; "Schools Behind Barbed Wire," 210-219; rev. of Leong, *Number One Son*, 279; rev. of McWilliams, *California: The Great Exception*, 371; Muscatine, *Old San Francisco: The Biography of a City from Early Days to the Earthquake*, 186; rev. of Taylor, *Chavez and the Farm Workers*, 86-87  
 "Women's History: A Listing of West Coast Archival and Manuscript Sources," by Joan Hoff Wilson and Lynn Bonfield Donovan, 74-83, 170-185  
 "The Workingmen's Party of California, 1877-1882," 58-73  
 Workingmen's Party, see "San Francisco's

## Index

- Workingmen Respond to the Modern City," 46-57  
Workman, William, 158  
Wozencraft, Oliver M., 37  
WPC, *see* Workingmen's Party of California  
WRA, *see* War Relocation Agency  
Wren, C. S., 313, 316
- Yabit (Indian name), 326-338 *passim*, *see also*  
    Los Angeles
- Yaw, Ellen Beach, photo., 104  
*Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*, by Michi Nishiura  
    Weglyn, rev., 367-368  
Yokut Indians, 32  
*Yosemite and Its Innkeepers*, by Shirley Sargent, rev., 373-375  
Young, Ewing, 157, 158  
Yount, George C., 157
- Young, Otis E., Jr., *Black Powder and Hand Steel: Miners and Machines on the Old Western Frontier*, rev., 373  
Young, S. B. M., 347, 348  
Yuma, Ariz., 156  
Yuma Indians, 156
- Zionism (1919), 348  
Zúñiga, José de, 331-336 *passim*





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